THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 163 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • AUGUST 10, 1946 NUMBER 6

The Shape of Things

THOUGH THE RECORD OF THE SEVENTY-NINTH Congress is far from spotless, its last action—approval by the Senate of the Morse resolution on the World Court—serves to remind us how much history it has made in the field of international relations. In the years between the wars United States adhesion to the World Court represented the irreducible minimum of the internationalists' program; they fought long and painful battles to secure it, but the isolationists were always successful in blocking it. Now by a vote of 60 to 2 the Senate has agreed that the United States shall accept compulsory jurisdiction of the Court of International Justice for disputes among nations over the interpretation of treaties, over any question of international law, over alleged breaches of international obligations, and over cases of claims for reparations to be made for such breaches. Even though two rather unfortunate reservations were included in the resolution—one of them might block efforts to refer different interpretations of the peace treaties to the Court—this vote gives emphatic proof of how far we have swung away from isolationism. And the seventy-ninth Congress has provided many other proofs. It ratified the Charter of the United Nations and indorsed American participation in the International Bank Fund. It agreed to extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act on terms which gave the President greater latitude in reducing tariffs, and it approved the British loan, though only after an unedifying series of debates. All in all, it is a distinguished record which was made possible by the broad agreement on international policies which existed between conservatives and liberals in both parties. The dwindling band of die-hards provided a bitter opposition but they were fighting vainly against a tidal-wave of public opinion. In the next Congress they seem likely to be conspicuous by their absence.

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BY CONTRAST THE DOMESTIC RECORD OF this Congress has been blotched by many sins both of commission and omission. In the second session, particularly, the coalition of Southern conservatives and Republicans seized practical control of both House and Senate and illustrated once again the tendency of our constitution to produce legislative stalemates. A large part of the program presented last January by the President has been blocked while he, in turn, by the use of his veto, has rendered ineffective the passage by Congress of several important bills. Actually of twenty-one measures requested by Mr. Truman only six have become law and some of these were badly mangled when they reached his desk. A notable example is the Full Employment bill which was sadly watered down and is likely to prove of but limited utility. On the other hand, thanks in large part to freshman Senator Brien MacMahon, the Atomic Control bill came through in pretty good shape, with civilian control assured and provision made for the prevention of patent abuses. Another useful piece of legislation, though not as useful as its sponsors, Senator La Follette and Representative Monroney, tried to make it, was the Congressional Reorganization bill which aims at increasing efficiency on Capitol Hill by decreasing the number of standing committees. It also provides new rules for the registration of lobbyists. Among the more important measures left in suspense are the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Housing bill, to which we referred last week, the Services Unification bill, the bill instituting a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee, and the bill embodying the President's national health-insurance program. We hope that, in the months that remain before the election, the voters will study carefully the individual records of their own representatives with a view to insuring that the eightieth Congress will be better than the seventy-ninth.

*

THE REVERSAL BY THE ALL-INDIA MOSLEM League of its previous decision to accept the British Cabinet Mission's constitutional plan adds a new boulder to India's rocky road to freedom. Since the decision involves a boycott by this powerful minority party of the Constitutional Assembly, the meeting of that body, scheduled for next month, may have to be postponed. The League's action was justified by the assertion that the "spirit of cooperation" necessary to carry the plan through was missing. In addition, it appears that the Moslems were deeply chagrined by the Viceroy's refusal to form an interim popular government after the Congress leaders voted against participation. As Shiva Rao pointed out in *The Nation,* they thought the Viceroy had definitely committed himself to the interim government scheme even though Congress rejected it. Sir Stafford Cripps, one of the members of the mission, has, however,

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The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

since told the British House of Commons that the plan was for a coalition government and, therefore, conditional on the acceptance of both major parties. Wherever the truth in this somewhat confused situation may lie, it is obvious that the Moslem League feels that it was out-maneuvered and is seeking a more advantageous bargaining position. Under these circumstances, the demands for "revolutionary action" heard at its Bombay convention need not be taken too literally. Mohammed Ali Jinnah is obviously anxious to hedge his threats. He told the convention: "Never have we done anything except by constitutional methods. Today we bid good-bye to them." But in a subsequent press conference he was careful to explain that the convention's resolutions were not intended as a declaration of war against anybody. That the Moslem League will try to gain its ends by armed uprising is, indeed, most improbable; that it will exploit its very considerable nuisance value to the utmost, is certain.

✶

THE SENATE, PROMPTED BY SENATOR HART, has struck out all references to the social sciences in its revised version of the National Science Foundation bill. This action is a disturbing and ironic symbol of our legislators' confusion about both the physical and the social sciences. Few truisms are more familiar than the statement that all our troubles are caused by the fact that we can control matter but not man, that the social sciences have lagged a hundred years behind technology; yet Congress proposes to subsidize technological research only, and thus increase the gap as much as it can. The Senate's action is all the more inexplicable in the light of the exception record of war-time "operational research" projects, in which mixed teams of mathematicians and economists, physicists and psychologists, combined their discipline for assaults on problems in their entirety, with conspicuously successful results. Certainly the foundation for any science of civilization must be sought, as Waldemar Kaempffert has pointed out in a recent pamphlet ("Should Government Support Science?" Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 119), in a combination of the natural and social sciences. It is to be hoped that the Senate will reconsider its unfortunate action.

✶

HEARING THAT GERTRUDE STEIN IS DEAD is like hearing that Paul Bunyan has been eaten by his ox Babe. Certainly she is not really dead: legends never die, and Miss Stein had made herself into an American legend more lasting than anything Barnum himself ever created. She sat in Paris as the Pythoness used to sit at Delphi: everybody in the world, from Picasso to a sergeant of marines, came asking for a sign, and went away happy with some oracular utterance which he could finger as if it were a Chinese puzzle. (If you believe in yourself hard enough, the world will beat a path to your

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door—especially if you live in Paris.) An obstinate and homely shrewdness ran through everything Gertrude Stein said, and glittered at random throughout her writings, which seemed to the average reader an unusually idiosyncratic and concrete nonsense, the sort of massive whimsy a stomach would think up if it could ever stop digesting. But in our secular, commercial, and merciless age she came somehow to stand for Wisdom, which doesn't sell itself in the streets, but gives itself away at home, in cypher. Who else ever became famous by writing his own biography, or influenced dozens of writers by treating words, so far as it is possible to do so, as objects without meaning? Who else would say that a friend's one-man show was "rather epoch-making"; or would gravely decide that the Americans are today the oldest nation on earth, since they entered the twentieth century ten years before anybody else did? The world will be a duller place without her; her sins harmed no one; at this moment she is sitting in the Elysian Fields talking to Samuel Johnson, the only man who could ever be her match.

*

IT IS NO DISPARAGEMENT OF THE MEAD committee to suggest that the fish it has so far netted are distinguished by their smell rather than their size. The Garrson "empire," about which we have heard so much, was not in the major league of war contractors; its government orders totalled less than $100,000,000 while those of some of the really big fellows ran into billions. Possibly these leviathans swallowed no more public money than was their exact due, and never used shady methods of influencing public servants. Certainly the temptation to do so was diminished in their case by the predeliction of the War and Navy Departments for giantism. Even so, there are reasons for believing that cost-padding was a fairly general practice among large contractors as well as small, and it is good to know that the Mead Committee plans to make a series of "spot-checks" in the aluminum, automotive, aircraft, and shipbuilding industries to determine how much success Congress achieved in its professed effort "to take the profit out of war." According to Controller-General Lindsay C. Warren, who gave evidence before the committee last week, Congress stultified itself when it excluded the General Accounting Office from any part in contract termination proceedings. In this it followed the advice of Bernard Baruch who suggested that, except in cases of obvious fraud, contract settlements should not be audited by the Controller-General. Mr. Baruch's point was that we had to choose between the risk of overpayment and intolerable delay in reconversion. Perhaps so, but the procedure laid down by Congress was calculated to assist the concealment of fraud and to encourage collusion between contractors and government officials. Mr. Warren has asked for authority to recheck settlements and Congress should see that he gets it.

THE REVOLT IN BOLIVIA HAS DONE MORE than replace a bloody fascist tyranny with a regime pledged to democratic processes and economic reforms. It has succeeded in upsetting several other dictatorial apple carts and, in the process, has changed the balance of power in South America. The first sharp reaction was in Paraguay where President Moriñigo, faced with mounting political tension, has reorganized his government to make room for representatives of various democratic parties. One of the continent's most ruthless autocrats, Moriñigo was certainly spurred to action by the ugly picture of his fellow dictator across the border hanging head-downward from a lamppost. The new set-up in Paraguay is not yet completed; but Moriñigo promises to retire as soon as he makes certain that the ordinary Paraguayan has something to say about his own affairs; a praiseworthy if astonishing condition. But the most important aspect of events in both Paraguay and Bolivia is their effect on the policies of the government of Argentina. These two countries were Perón's most faithful satellites, the nucleus of his carefully planned anti-United States bloc. Today, with the bloc visibly crumbling under his feet, Perón is preparing a new line. He has announced that hemispheric cooperation is the thing. He promises that should another world war break out, Argentina would fight on the side of the United States. For all these encouraging sentiments we doubtless have Bolivia partly to thank, although it is also well to keep in mind Argentina's traditional fear of Russian influence in South America, as well as its desire to qualify for United States military aid when the long-delayed conference on hemisphere defense finally convenes at Rio.

*

IN THE TEXAS AND TENNESSEE PRIMARIES some sturdy reactionaries have once more got there "fustest with the mostest," and the scattered liberals are looking forward as bravely as they can to the next election. That Santa Claus in very good disguise, Boss Crump, has again pulled from the inexhaustible ballot boxes of Shelby County the gift which Tennesseans have been receiving as long as most of them can remember—Senator Kenneth D. McKellar. The other Crump candidates met with an equally expected success. However, the grass roots revolt at Athens, described elsewhere in this issue, may prove ominous of a dim future for old-style boss rule in Tennessee. In Texas an honest and intelligent liberal, Homer Rainey, ran a bad second after a campaign in which his rivals brought to bear sectional feeling, racial prejudice, accusations of immorality, and opposition to free enterprise, and everything else but the kitchen stove; as Rainey, a former university president, Baptist minister, and professional ball player, remarked: "They even said I was a bad pitcher." The economic basis necessary for the success of liberals hardly seems to exist in Texas, and their defeat is as little remarked

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on as was the nomination of Senator Connally. In Alabama the Democratic whip of the House Representatives, John J. Sparkman, supported by the C. I. O.-P. A. C., won such a sweeping victory that he nearly made a run-off unnecessary. There are, therefore, some drops of Southern comfort to be squeezed out of the past week's primaries.

After UNRRA, What?

INCREDIBLE as it may seem, a responsible member of the United States government is said to believe that the impending liquidation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration means simply the end of "the gravy train." This, according to a Washington report in the New York *Times,* is the considered view of William L. Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State, who nevertheless has been retained as the American representative at the farewell meeting of the UNRRA Council, which began August 5 in Geneva.

A statement subsequently issued in Washington on Mr. Clayton's behalf informs us that he is opposed to any country's going hungry as long as there is food in the world. Let us hope that this more humane view reflects his true sentiments. Nevertheless he has not challenged the disclosure that the United States, along with Great Britain and Canada, has already decided that the worst of the post-war starvation period was over, and that countries now receiving UNRRA food will hereafter have to buy their own. UNRRA is to be disbanded on schedule, in Europe on December 31, in China on March 31.

In view of the mutual ill-feeling that prevails in the world, it is useless to raise objections to the liquidation of UNRRA. The date of its demise was fixed a year ago, at the London meeting of its Council, and Mr. Clayton served notice at its Atlantic City meeting last spring that the United States would not furnish any more money. The United States has supplied nearly three-fourths of the $3,900,000,000 that UNRRA will have spent since its establishment in November, 1943, and appropriations have been obtained from Congress with more and more difficulty. It may well be that discontinuance of UNRRA is the only practical policy.

What is intolerable, however, is the bland assumption by Mr. Clayton, and by the British and Canadian officials who took part in the Washington conference, that the worst is over, and that various agencies of the United Nations can now take over UNRRA's work. This conclusion has apparently been reached without even the most cursory examination of the situation. On the subject of relief supplies—UNRRA expects to have shipped more than 14,000,000 tons by the end of September—we have to choose between the views of the Washington conferees, and a report by UNRRA to the member nations which says that at least $750,000,000 worth of food, not to mention clothing, will have to be sent to Europe to take care of minimum needs between January 1 and the 1947 harvest. Mr. Clayton may know better, but he is taking a risk, and millions of people, who have been saved until now by UNRRA supplies, may perish if he is mistaken. It will be too late for Mr. Clayton to change his mind after January 1; the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations has no funds or means to get any.

There is no uncertainty, however, about the effect of the liquidation of UNRRA on the 850,000 refugees and displaced persons of Europe now dependent on it. The International Refugee Organization, which has been established under the vague sponsorship of the United Nations, is not even supposed to do anything about them unless they are fortunate enough to be chosen for permanent resettlement overseas. If the Palestine controversy is not settled, there will be very few of these. As for the rest, no help at all, unless the Inter-Governmental Committee, which is already responsible for several hundred thousand pre-1939 unfortunates, can expand its membership and its financial support. (The United States and Britain at present are the sole members of the I. G. C., with Britain bearing most if not all the expense.)

Other United Nations agencies are supposed to take over other UNRRA duties. But the World Health Congress cannot send out nurses and doctors to replace those that UNRRA already has in Greece. The International Bank of Reconstruction, which is supposed to finance the rebuilding of war-ravaged regions, has made plain what it thinks of UNRRA, or any recommendations by the United Nations sub-commission on devastated areas, by refusing even to send a representative to the final UNRRA Council meeting. It is obvious, therefore, that if things are allowed to rock along until the conclusion of United Nations General Assembly, which does not meet until September 23, we will suddenly wake up to find that UNRRA has vanished, and that there is not even the semblance of an effective United Nations agency to take its place. Above all, there will be no money and no food, except for the food that Allied occupation armies are already supplying the refugee camps. Without UNRRA's trained personnel to administer the camps, however, even army rations are insufficient to pay the world's debt to these victims of fascism.

Fortunately, we may expect declarations from the Geneva meeting that will show the way to a United Nations that is still fumbling with organizational problems; with some luck, we may even hope that the grants of powers to the various agencies supposed to take over UNRRA's work can be broadened so that they can do effective work. The cardinal difficulty, however, is lack of money, and this is mainly the responsibility of the

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United States, although we can certainly expect other nations which were not invaded to contribute. It is a responsibility that we hope President Truman will not shirk. And if Mr. Clayton's views on UNRRA were distorted by the *Times,* he has an opportunity at Geneva to make his repudiation sound convincing.

Palestine Partition

THE terms of the British partition for Palestine are evidently quite as unsatisfactory and dangerous as the early unofficial summaries indicated and its reception has been exactly as bad as Freda Kirchwey predicted in her comment last week. Jews and Arabs have rejected the plan even in advance of the final text, and the rumor that President Truman was prepared to agree to it roused a storm of disapproval, not only among Zionist groups in this country, but among Senators and Congressmen of both parties and interested individuals outside the government. As a result the President, who at first appeared merely irritated by the protests, summoned the Cabinet Committee to return from Paris and discuss the whole situation before he made a decision.

One of the most curious aspects of the partition plan is its bland disregard of the recommendations made in April by the Joint Committee of Inquiry—curious, because the Cabinet Committee was appointed and dispatched to Britain for the express purpose of working out methods of implementing those recommendations. The Joint Committee not only never suggested partition as a solution; it actually discussed the question on and off for several weeks, in the light of its own findings and the report of the Royal Commission of 1937, and in the end specifically stated that it was unable to recommend partition. When the inquiry began its work, a partition plan very similar to that now put forward was known to have been considered and dropped. The Joint Committee naturally supposed that its recommendations would supercede any such prior proposals; why, otherwise, should it have been called into being? It will be interesting to learn how the Committee feels about the new (or old) plan; so far its members have discreetly kept their mouths shut, at least in public.

But the latest proposal is not only a repudiation of the Anglo-American Committee; it also ignores the President's reiterated request for the immediate admission to Palestine of 100,000 displaced Jews. Instead it makes their admission contingent upon Arab acceptance of a proposal which the Arabs have time and again flatly refused to consider. Assuming the possibility that they could be won over by dangling before their eyes the large sum of American money suggested in the report, and assuming that Congress could be induced to vote for the donation, the process of bringing about a reversal would be bound to be slow. Meanwhile Jewish refugees would wait in German camps while new thousands pressed in from Eastern Europe. The proposal also makes the admission of the 100,000 contingent upon Jewish acceptance. This will never be given to a scheme which deprives the Jews of the possibility of democratic self-government even within their own district and, by limiting their territory to a meager 1,500 square miles of densely populated land, sharply curtails the possibility of absorbing new immigrants.

It seems clear to us that President Truman should immedately hold a joint conference with the Grady committee, the group of advisors who accompanied it to Europe only to have their advice totally ignored, and the American members of the Committee of Inquiry. With that he should work out a plan of Anglo-American cooperation which adopts as its unalterable basis the recommendations of the Joint Inquiry and the commitments of the Balfour declaration, endorsed over and over by Congress, the major parties, and the President himself. We should not refuse to share responsibility for Palestine —though we have a right to scrutinize with care and skepticism demands for military intervention. But responsibility implies approval. We have no obligation whatsoever to accept even partial responsibility for a scheme which goes back on all our professed purposes and sets up an even tighter form of crown-colony rule in Palestine.

The Issues at Paris

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE conference in Paris is, of course, not a peace conference at all. It is a conference to try to get agreement among the nations that joined in defeating the Axis as to the terms of peace they will hereafter enforce upon the vanquished. The treaties are more important as a test of the relations existing among the Allies than as a set of conditions to be met by Hitler's junior partners in crime. If the conference is able to mitigate the tensions which have tightened to the snapping point between the Soviet Union and the West and between the great powers and the small it will have justified itself no matter what decisions are reached about boundary lines in Venetia Guilia or Bulgarian raparations. It is more important that Russia and the United States should agree about Trieste than that Yugoslavia or Italy should keep or lose it. And the same holds true for all the terms laid down in all the draft treaties under negotiation.

This is not to say that the terms have no intrinsic significance. That would be going too far. They are important for their direct effect on the countries concerned, and they are also important because they express the interests and ambitions and fears of the powers that

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framed them, and so serve to tie the ex-enemy countries into the political network which those powers are weaving. To use again the simplest and handiest example before us: The problem of Trieste may in fact be best met by establishing a free territory under some form of international control. But the solution was not reached by looking at ethnic maps or by consulting the wishes of the population. It emerged as the only possible compromise between the desire of the Western powers to keep Russia away from the shores of the Adriatic and Russia's desire to be there. The arrangement finally agreed upon favors the Soviet ambition but does not permit it an unqualified victory.

So far the best one can say about the treaties as a whole, about the organization of the conference and its procedure, about the area of participation reserved for the smaller nations, is that they are the result of bargains, often hard-driven, among the Big Four. They represent the lowest common denominators of agreement among powers whose differences have come to outweigh, almost to obliterate, their mutual interests. This is not a prescription for achieving peace—either peace with our late enemies or peace among the late allies. If it promises any advantage at all, it is only that of bringing to an end one phase of the war and of showing the victor powers, small and large, where they stand in relation to one another before they begin the much more difficult attempt to reach an agreement about Germany.

What the pessimistic outlook in Paris really indicates is this: The war as a whole is not over. And since the war is not over, the nations gathered at Paris cannot be expected to make peace. The so-called peace conference is, inevitably, merely a new battlefield in the political war which was never ended. The military defeat of the Axis powers shifted the lines and blurred some of the issues; but the struggle goes on with no essential change.

It is convenient in the present phase of the fight to cast Russia in the role of totalitarian menace, and group Britain and ourselves and the lesser Western powers in the other camp—the camp of the defenders of democracy. But this alignment is a little too simple. For the political fight is only partly one between dictatorial and democratic political methods, between repression and freedom. It is that, but it is also a fight in which feudalism and capitalism, weakened under the crushing blows administered by a lost war and harsh military occupation, are struggling against revolution—against socialism in one form or another. The lines are not so sharply drawn as on the field of military battle. And Russia's brusque efforts to push outward its zone of influence or control—undoubtedly a drive that is itself compounded of power politics and revolutionary purpose—collides not only with the will of Britain and the United States to stop this expanding force before it engulfs the West and ends the economic system on which Western strength depends, but also with their desire to maintain individual and political freedom.

So confused, so difficult to follow, is this political war whose front is now the ornate Senate Chamber in the Luxembourg Palace! For even the summary I attempted above is misleading. It gives the impression that there are two fairly well-defined camps, but that, too, is not quite so. Although America is the leader of what I suppose we must call the anti-Russian camp, our representatives in Paris know they must carry on their diplomatic counter-offensive without forcing an open break or driving Moscow to extremes of suspicion and fear which will end all possibility of peaceful accommodation. Consequently their behavior is likely to be a discreet mixture of toughness and conciliation. Nor can they afford to precipitate a showdown in terms that will frighten or antagonize our democratic cohorts. For their ranks are not the solid democratic-capitalist divisions Washington might wish. On the contrary, the smaller countries, particularly those of Western Europe, are sharply divided within themselves, since this political war is a revolution and not only a national struggle. Most of them have powerful Communist parties; all have powerful Socialist parties; several, Britain among them, have Socialist governments. They are only partly in America's camp: their dominant hope may be for a Europe in which political democracy maintains its rule, but one dare not take it for granted that they will accept even this on American terms. Indeed, many powerful democratic elements firmly believe that their only chance of holding on to political freedom is by moving as fast as possible toward a Socialist economy. The heavy weight of America on the capitalist and reactionary side is losing us allies among these groups just as repression is losing Russia a large section of the popular support its revolutionary drive would otherwise surely have won.

These are the issues behind the deliberations in Paris, however remote they may seem from the particular points under discussion. They will be fought out there in the coming weeks, as they are being fought out everywhere in the world every day; they will play a part in every major decision and many lesser ones. And in the end they will have to be decided in their own terms; otherwise peace will not be made in Europe.

Del Vayo Reports from Moscow

For three weeks, J. Alvarez del Vayo, European Editor of The Nation, *has been in Moscow discussing the internal and world situation with Russian leaders. His first cabled article will appear in next week's issue of* The Nation. *Others will follow in early issues.*

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Rebellion in Tennessee

BY JENNINGS PERRY

Nashville, August 4

IT WAS to have been a nice, quiet, machine-made election on August 1 in Tennessee—a state in which the people actually are fined for voting, and the votes of one-tenth of the adult population suffice to elect. Three hundred thousand dollars had been shaken out of the state and federal employees, the liquor dealers, the road contractors, the insurance brokers, to keep Boss Crump's aged flunkey, Kenneth D. McKellar, in the United States Senate for one more term. Every machine in the state, Democratic and Republican, had closed ranks, as usual, with the big Shelby County machine for the happy kill. And then, down in little McMinn County, in the southeast corner of the state, there was a terrific explosion.

What happened in McMinn, mainly at Athens, the county seat—a gracious, well-shaded valley town—was a popular revolt against tyranny which is already being described in Tennessee as "another Boston Tea Party." It was an armed revolt and entirely successful. It smashed to smithereens one of the most arrant political machines of the state and rattled the teeth of every boss in the vicious ring which, under the domination of Boss Crump of Memphis, has fixed an iron grip upon Tennessee.

The revolt was led by young men freshly back from the wars—Jim Buttram, 24, a grocer's son, ex-corporal twice wounded overseas; J. P. Kennedy, former lieutenant-commander in the navy; young ex-GI James Edward Vestal, two-time winner of the Purple Heart—men like that. The tyranny overthrown at Athens was that of Paul Cantrell, a state senator whose machine has been stealing elections in McMinn at pistol-point for a decade.

Early in the spring a number of veterans who, during the war, had been "thinking about things back home," formed an all-GI ticket to "rescue" the county offices from machine control. The ticket campaigned vigorously, received Republican and Democratic support. The veterans served notice that the polls would be watched.

The machine's answer was to deputize 300 thugs, some from out of the state, and put them in charge of the voting places on election day armed with pistols, shotguns, and blackjacks. This had been seen before in McMinn—and in Polk, the next county, where another Crump ally, Sheriff Burch C. Biggs, had bloodily put down all political opposition. The situation was loaded and primed. At three o'clock in the afternoon, with the GI ticket reportedly leading by a wide margin, the thugs made their play. Watchers for the GI ticket were beaten and driven from the polls; deputies, brandishing arms, seized the ballot boxes and hustled them to the jail. The veterans demanded that the votes be counted in public. A shot was fired from the jail. It was then that the outraged veterans went to arm themselves.

They fought the deputies with their bare fists and took their guns. The people of the town and of the countryside brought them shotguns and shells. They besieged the jail and poured their fire through its windows. Exactly twelve hours after the showdown began, the thirty deputies who formed the garrison came out, hands in the air. The ballot boxes were put under guard by the victors to await the honest, public count the veterans had vowed would be had.

This was the end of the battle of Athens—as true an "uprising of the people" as any history relates. Boss Cantrell, escaping from the embattled jail, fled into hiding. His chief allies, the sheriff and George Woods, speaker of the Tennessee House of Representatives, also high-tailed it from the county and have not yet returned. Troops of the State Guard, started to the scene by Governor Jim McCord, were turned back when it was evident that the Cantrell machine, part of the ring supporting the Governor for renomination, was broken beyond retrieving. The militia cheered the word that they were not to attack the McMinn veterans.

There was little bloodshed at Athens—and the people of Tennessee, by and large, are filled with admiration for the young men who did not come home to be robbed of the rights they had been told they were fighting for. For over half a century Tennessee has not seen a free election: under the poll tax, the suffrage has been given up by the vast majority; as the electorate has withered away, the power of the machine has risen. The people of Tennessee now have been reminded that the ballot was originally won with the bullet and that when the ballot is lost, the people are without any means, save bullets, with which to win it back.

As to the impact of the Tennessee Tea Party in McMinn upon the political future of the state, these straws have been noted in the wind: Burch Biggs of Polk and other bosses of the state have ostentatiously washed their hands of the fallen Cantrell machine; and it was reported on Sunday that Senator McKellar presently will journey from Washington to Athens to ease the situation.

This much may be foreseen: if the veterans stand firm in their cause and example, the next elections in Tennessee will be different from the juggernaut cruise of the machines they have been since the early thirties.

JENNINGS PERRY, noted Southern liberal, is an editor of the Nashville Tennessean.

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The Crusader from Down Under

BY ROBERT BENDINER

UNTIL six years ago Australia's role in world diplomacy was roughly comparable to the position of Switzerland in the world of naval affairs. Today it is impossible to pick up a paper without spotting some such headline as "Aussies Hit Britain on Franco," "Australian Delegate Cautions Gromyko," or "Australian Offers Plan for U. N. Atom Pact." A country whose foreign policy until 1940 consisted solely of faith in Singapore and the British Navy has established its autonomy in foreign relations, formulated a coherent policy, laid the foundations of a diplomatic service, and become chief advocate in the United Nations for the Little Forty-Six *vis-a-vis* the Big Five. For all of which Australians can thank the nature of the war and the energy and vision of one man—Dr. Herbert Vere Evatt, judge, diplomat, biographer, connoisseur of post-impressionist art, and authority on the science of cricket.

To appreciate the sensational nature of Evatt's career—the swiftness of his rise and the blend of vitality, idealism, and political sophistication that has marked his course—translate his progress into American terms. You will have to imagine a boy from a genteel but poverty-stricken family, product of a small coal town, in, say, the anthracite district of Pennsylvania. After a brilliant passage through the elementary and high schools of the community, he gains entrance to a leading university and proceeds to win top honors, not only in the law, which he has chosen to follow, but in literature, philosophy, and mathematics as well; at the same time he serves as president of the student organization and wins his letter in football. At the age of 23 he has his master's degree, opens a practice, and associates himself with the political left. At 31, now a Doctor of Laws, he goes before the Supreme Court to prevent the deportation of two labor leaders and acquires a national reputation. He is elected to the legislature of his state and five years later—at the age of 36—takes his place on the highest bench in the land. After ten years, with a brilliant record behind him and an illustrious career ahead, he grows restive, with his country at war, and (here the imagination is taxed severely) steps down from the Supreme Court to run for Congress. He is elected, and with the success of his party at the polls in the following year, he is a natural choice for membership in the Cabinet, drawing no less than a dual appointment—as Attorney General and Secretary of State.

Substitute New South Wales for Pennsylvania and identify the "political left" as the Australian Labor Party, and you have there the framework of Evatt's swift career down to 1945. But the framework only; the warmth and color of the man, the drives that motivate him, and the uses to which he turns his acquired power are the substance of the story.

THE UNPEDANTIC SCHOLAR

In Australia Herbert Evatt is thought of as a bookish man, an intellectual in politics. He is the learned justice who stepped down from the High Court to mix in the rough-and-tumble of the vote-catcher's art. He is one of the Empire's keenest authorities on constitutional law. He is the author of a biography of William A. Holman, one of the founders of the Labor Party, which is nothing less than a political history of Australia since 1890. He is the prime mover in a campaign to provide Australians with better libraries; he is a critic of modern art.

Yet these scholarly attributes by no means leap out at the interviewer. Dr. Evatt is an easy man to talk with. He is not without a touch of boyish vanity, perhaps, but there is no pompousness in him, no pose of the learned judge or the world statesman. And certainly there is nothing of the pedant in his readily tapped stream of Cockney-like vowels. "Naow you tike this bloody business todye," he will say by way of introducing some rather earthy remarks on an afternoon's session of the Security Council. His interests are wide and wonderfully varied, and they draw on a youthful eagerness uncommon in a man of 52. An hour's conversation with him is likely to range from the day's baseball scores, through the personality of the late Oliver Wendell Holmes, to the rank injustice that history and fable have done to William Bligh, villain of the *Bounty* but hero of one of Evatt's historical volumes. He is extremely fond of the United States, a prejudice undoubtedly enhanced by two major considerations: America's role in warding off the Japanese in the dark days when invasion looked certain, and an Iowa-born wife of charm and distinction. Mrs. Evatt, incidentally, accompanies her husband on nearly all his missions and during the war won a commendation from Prime Minister Curtin for "the part she has played in every phase of the [Evatt] Delegation's activities overseas."

Evatt's informality of speech—and dress—is an integral part of his personality, the reflection of a profound repudiation of formalism in all his thinking. It is a characteristic that runs through all his activity and gives it a consistent quality: as a jurist he is emphatically more concerned with justice than with precedent or the letter of the law; politically he considers himself a Socialist without dogma; diplomatically he shuns the striped-pants-and-protocol approach and goes directly to the essence of the matter at hand. For a man with a reputation as an intellectual he is thus curiously elastic, un-

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anchored to any established body of thought. But in place of the arid rigidity that marks the truly professional intellectual there is in Evatt a more emotional and warmer drive—the urge not so much to justice itself, which can be cold and retributive, but rather to the eradiction of injustice. He is instinctively moved to take up the cause of the weak against the strong, the small against the great: he is everlastingly the champion of the wronged, whether the victim suffers from a whole system of social inequalities or merely, as in the case of Captain Bligh, a personal slander that has passed into history.

COUNSEL TO THE UNDERDOG

Referring me to a book by Doctor Evatt, a friend of his of long standing advised me to read it as "a key to Evatt's political and social character." Appropriately enough the title of the volume is "Injustice Within the Law," and is a legalistic and none too lively little study of the case of the "Martyrs of Tolpuddle." These were six British trade unionists who in 1834 were sentenced to seven years' transportation to Australia, which in those times and circumstances was almost certain to mean a lifetime in exile. Technically the men were charged with administering unlawful oaths, but it was perfectly and widely understood that this was merely a happy device for breaking up "the dangerous and alarming combinations," as the rising trade unions were described. It is characteristic of Evatt to turn his scholarship precisely to this case and just as characteristic for him to draw the conclusions he does. He scrupulously clears the prosecution of technical flaws and illegalities of any sort, and then points out that "There was no violence in the Dorchester Case save the extreme and horrible violence of the law itself." He recommends the case to lawyers today on the ground that "in one sense the case represented the very coronation of injustice, and yet there was no technical breach of the law."

Herbert Vere Evatt

Defender of constitutionalism as opposed to the unwritten law of England, Evatt nevertheless is far from a strict constructionist. Of our own Supreme Court justices of the recent past, he admires Stone for giving Congress a loose rein, and incidentally for his personal qualities, but his greater admiration is reserved for those giants of dissent who in one degree or another regarded the Court as a weapon of social justice: Holmes, Brandeis, Cardozo.

Evatt was hard put to tell me which of his own opinions seemed to him the most significant, but it was obvious that he got most pleasure out of the case of the Hungarian writer Egon Kisch, who, unwanted in Nazi-ridden Hungary for both racial and political reasons, sought refuge in Australia. Primarily to keep out Asiatics the Australians have long resorted to tricky immigration laws, one of which requires that every entrant must take dictation in some one European tongue arbitrarily selected by the immigration authorities. Not too keen about Kisch's politics, the official in charge refused him entry on the ground that the unfortunate Hungarian Jew was unable to take down a passage in Gaelic! Mr. Justice Evatt ruled out Gaelic as a European language within the meaning of the law and chalked up another triumph for the underdog.

Like his law, Evatt's politics is rooted in social justice, but he is unwilling to trade political freedom for economic. He is just as unwilling to trade present principles for future hopes. "Democratic procedures," he says, "are as important as democratic ends." He explains certain Russian behavior that he has encountered in his term as a delegate to the Security Council as an expression of the Communist inability to accept even the most temporary defeat in the give-and-take of the democratic process. "Ultimately, decisions have to be made by ballots or bullets," he says. "We believe in ballots. We may be beaten, but we can take a beating and try again, and we're always willing to take that chance."

Evatt's socialism, if it is socialism, is of the Fabian sort. "Meliorism" is his own word for it. "New Deal" would be ours. He is opposed to governing families, concentrated corporate wealth, and interference with civil liberties; and he favors the gradual socialism that comes by way of social legislation and public ownership of railroads, electric power, and major natural resources. This program hardly constitutes Marxism, and he doesn't pretend that it does. The greatest world figure of the generation, for him, is Franklin D. Roosevelt, and after him, Australia's late Prime Minister John Curtin, under whom Evatt took office and whom he regards as one of the greatest speakers of his time. Asquith, Wilson, and Hull are other stars in the Evatt galaxy. But with the possible exception of Curtin none is in a class with Roosevelt, whose loss, he believes, was a blow from which the world is still reeling.

INDEPENDENCE—WITHIN THE EMPIRE

Evatt's congenital indifference to precedent was in evidence two months after he took office as Minister of External Affairs. When the war had broken out in Europe two years earlier, the Menzies government had simply announced that since Britain had declared a state of hostilities with Germany, Australia was automatically at war. But when the Japanese struck in December, 1941, Evatt did things differently. Taking the initiative, though drawing his authority from Curtin, of course, he ordered

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the Australian Minister in London to submit to King George declarations of war against Japan, Finland, Hungary, and Rumania. No British official took part in the matter, and it was explained to the Australian Parliament that this procedure was chosen in order "to make it clear that the King was acting exclusively on the advice of his Ministers in the Commonwealth."

The incident may not seem significant here, but it was rightly regarded as foreshadowing a new relationship within the Empire. The immediate sinking of the *Prince of Wales* and the *Repulse* greatly accelerated the Labor government's drive toward autonomy in the prosecution of the war, and even before the fall of Singapore in February, 1942, Prime Minister Curtin was announcing to the world: "Australia looks to America free of any pangs as to our traditional links of kinship with the United Kingdom." The plan to get MacArthur out of the Philippines and place him in command of the southwest Pacific theater was proposed by the Australians directly to President Roosevelt, without any prior sanction in London. Evatt was sent to Washington to plead for immediate aid of all sorts and also for Australia's right to sit in the Pacific War Council on equal terms with Britain and the United States.

The British were shocked, but they were not the only ones. Australia's Tories, who prefer a share in the prestige of Empire to autonomy as a small power, have always looked upon the Labor Party as "nationalist." If Evatt is typical, the party's nationalism is mild indeed. It is anti-imperialist, of course, in the sense that it stands squarely opposed to exploitation anywhere in the Empire, and it is determined to steer an independent course within the United Nations. But despite the large Irish Catholic bloc in the Australian population—particularly in the Labor Party—there is no trace of the rabid anti-British feeling of our own Middle West and of parts of Canada. Evatt is fond of speaking of the British Commonwealth as a "family partnership," and over the BBC a few months ago he quoted an Australian poet to describe the attitude of the people of the Dominions:

> They came to show to all the world that
> kinship conquers space,
> And he who fights the British Isles must
> fight the British race.

Despite this bond, the keystone of Australia's first genuinely independent foreign policy is not the Commonwealth at all, but the United Nations. Evatt is almost passionately convinced that the U. N. offers the only hope for a fearful world. And he is equally convinced that to realize that hope the U. N. will have to be considerably overhauled. Bringing to San Francisco his feeling for justice, his brash approach to diplomacy, and his instinctive defense of the weak, it was inevitable that he would stand out from the first as the champion of the small nations. He will tell you at once that he does not look upon himself in this light at all and believes that he has been somewhat misunderstood on this point. He fully realizes that the power of the major states gives them added responsibility and that this in turn entitles them to a greater share of control than the smaller nations have a logical right to expect. But he is devoted to upholding the principles of the Charter, and, as he shrewdly points out, these principles are generally of more concern to the little states, which depend on them for security, than to the larger powers, which depend on them for rhetoric.

TILTING AT THE VETO

On two fronts Evatt has carried on a fight within the U. N. that has made him easily its most colorful figure (no intention here to damn with faint praise). At San Francisco he was one of the chief architects of the Economic and Social Council, designed to foster better living standards and as close an approach as possible to "full employment." He is Socialist enough to believe that "peace is not merely the absence of war," that "a permanent system of security can be made effective and acceptable only if it has a foundation in economic justice."

The Council was set up, but Evatt was to discover before long that the over-all pattern of the United Nations was to present a question that dwarfed the problems of any of its subordinate agencies. This was the question of the veto—the right of any one of the Big Five on the Security Council to overrule a decision of all the other members combined. Identified in the public mind as the champion of the anti-veto forces, Evatt has been variously portrayed as a St. George and a Don Quixote, but the fact is that he was not intransigently opposed to the principle at the start, nor is he so today.

What Evatt refuses to countenance is not the principle of unanimity itself, but what he regards as the abuse of the veto in practice. His feelings on the matter came to a boil in the Security Council over the handling of the Spanish question. Evatt has always been belligerently and vocally hostile toward the Franco regime. He fought for strong action in the Council, and came up with the best compromise attainable in view of the coolness of the American and British delegations, only to have Gromyko scornfully apply the veto, thus leaving Franco unbothered by any action whatever. With all the suave diplomacy of a magistrate in traffic court, Evatt addressed his Soviet colleague. "Because the thing doesn't go quite the way you like it," he advised, "don't brush aside the views of the majority."

Once resigned to the so-called "unanimity principle," Evatt is now convinced that it will have to go if the U. N. is to be made a workable instrument. "It is a travesty of democratic procedures," he told an international NBC audience shortly before his departure for the

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Paris peace conference, "when any one nation can block the unanimous opinion of the remainder of a Council of eleven when it is endeavoring solely to conciliate and adjust international disputes and situations."

What started out to be merely a defense of a point of view is now taking on the proportions of a crusade. Evatt appears, not without reason, to feel that the smaller powers were foxed into an acceptance of the veto principle at San Francisco in the belief that it would be used with discretion. He is determined now that it will not be carried over into whatever international agency is established for the control of atomic energy. If he gains his point—and he is persuasive, persistent, and pugnacious in debate—a diplomatic triumph of historical proportions will have been won by a nation that didn't own a diplomat ten years ago. If he doesn't he will at least have proved that political wisdom, far from being a monopoly of Washington, London, and Moscow, is to be found in a much purer form in Canberra, population 14,000.

Men Against Unemployment

BY JOHN J. CORSON

Washington, August 2

THOSE who viewed the Full Employment Act as a fundamental plank in the Rooseveltian "economic bill of rights" are dismayed by the President's choice of men to serve on the Council of Economic Advisors. The names of none of the appointees—Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, Dean John Davidson Clark, or Leon H. Keyserling—figured in the speculation that took place during the six months the President required to make his selections. Their appointment comes as a surprise. That dismay and surprise is evoked by the fact that Nourse and Clark seemingly lack the daring, imagination, and willingness to experiment which the Council will need if it is to advise as to how the free enterprise system is to provide fuller employment in the future than in the past.

However, Messrs. Nourse and Clark are sound and experienced, if conventional. Together with Keyserling, they possess a variety of competences which effectively supplement one another, and may well fit the period in which the Council is to be established. Men such as Alvin Hansen, Leon Henderson, or Robert Nathan, more given to experimentation and less addicted to conventional approaches, would have difficulty adjusting to the psychological climate of the times.

Dr. Edwin G. Nourse is an economist who represents "respectable" economic thinking. Most of the twenty-three years he has spent at the Brookings Institute, and his earlier career as well, have been devoted to the study of agricultural economics. By numerous writings he has demonstrated a conservative predilection but also open-mindedness and fairness in appraising new ideas. His brand of economics is perhaps best revealed in his most recent book, "Price Making in a Democracy," published in 1944. There he presents a courageous analysis of the interrelationship of prices, wages, and profits in a free enterprise system, and worries aloud as to what is to be done about it. Even enlightened businessmen, he recognizes, seldom can look at their own affairs in terms of achieving the social objective of a high level of employment, production, and purchasing power. Their trade associations have more often been organs of restrictive practices than of flexible, farseeing economic policy. Perhaps, he reasons, the role of balance wheel in the economy might be played by such agencies as the United States Chamber of Commerce or the N. A. M. To meet his obligation of advising the President on business and government action to forestall unemployment and maintain a healthy economy, however, he will surely need a better answer than that.

Leon Keyserling, young (38) and well known in Washington, is schooled in the liberal traditions. He won his spurs while serving the doughty Robert Wagner as legislative assistant. Then (1933-37) he worked on the National Labor Relations Act and legislation creating the United States Housing Authority. Since 1938 he has served as general counsel for the successive federal housing agencies. In 1945 he won second prize in the Pabst Post-War Employment Award Contest with a brilliant essay, "The American Economic Goal." Yet Keyserling is a lawyer by trade, not an economist. His interest and competence lie in the development of governmental machinery which will produce concerted policies to lift production, employment, and the standard of living. He alone worked the miracle of joining the names of Senators Wagner, Ellender, and Taft on the much-discussed housing bill. Perhaps his deft touch will bring equally strange bedfellows together in the name of full employment.

John Davidson Clark, dean of the College of Business Administration at the University of Nebraska, is less

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widely known by either bureaucrats or Congressmen than his colleagues. Congressional cloak-room gossip has it that when queried by Senators examining his qualifications for this post, he professed an inability to voice any judgment as to the values of the TVA as an institution. He explained, it is said, that he had not had an opportunity to compare its operating costs with analogous private businesses. Other Washingtonians have learned from Who's Who that at the age of forty-four, after a successful business career in oil, he studied economics at Johns Hopkins and embarked on a career of teaching. Senator O'Mahoney has known him, however, from the time he was city attorney of Cheyenne, Wyoming, in 1907. This acquaintanceship apparently explains his emergence as one of the President's principal economic advisors.

There is not a political hack in the trio. Each is a capable professional man. Together they constitute what the President described, when announcing Dr. Nourse's appointment, as "a fact-finding agency." This choice of words offers an ironical comment on earlier promises that the Full Employment Act was "an historic Congressional declaration . . . of the Federal government's responsibility . . . to utilize all its resources for the purpose of maintaining employment opportunities for those able, willing, and seeking to work." Hence, observers suspect the Council may prove no more than a focussing point for the government's fiscal, monetary, labor, wage, and social-insurance policies as they affect employment, production, and purchasing power. It will collect reports from various governmental agencies, weigh the trend of events, and submit to the President appraisals of economic conditions, which he, in turn, will review with Secretary of the Treasury Snyder. There will be little forecasting of the economic tides and even less in the way of a program to insure that all public administrative and legislative policies "promote employment, production, and purchasing power."

In the immediate future, this may not be too serious. Little unemployment has accompanied reconversion. The fears of deflation which supported the advocates of the Full Employment Act throughout 1945 are for the time minimized. The problem in 1946-47 is that of boom control. That requires coordinated governmental economic policies if we are not to sow now the seeds of the next depression. Yet the Truman administration and, perhaps, the boom psychology of public opinion will not support an aggressive governmental effort to preserve full employment.

The best that can now be anticipated is that the Council will corral a competent and imaginative staff and establish within the federal structure its responsibility for coordinating governmental economic policies. Then, when the economic cycle has again run its course, some subsequent president may replace Messrs. Nourse and Clark with men who will constitute the kind of economic general staff which the federal government certainly requires if the system of free enterprise is to continue without subjecting our society to periodic blights of depression.

In the Wind

WHAT? NO DISCOUNT? *Bread and Butter,* Consumers Union's weekly, reprints the following letter to a Congressman from an irate citizen in Melrose, Mass., who had been comparing his June and July food bills: "Congressman Angier L. Goodwin, Debtor, House Office Bldg., Washington, D. C. For the money you have picked from my pocket by your votes to sabotage price control as a ventriloquist dummy for the National Association of Manufacturers, balance due, July 1-20—$18.07. Please remit promptly. (Signed) A long suffering victim of Congressional misrepresentation."

BEDFELLOWS HALL: *The New Leader,* which calls itself "America's Leading Liberal-Labor Weekly," is featuring the European correspondence of William Henry Chamberlin. So is America's leading conservative-capitalist daily—the *Wall Street Journal.*

LONG ARM OF THE LAW! A New York *Sun* story about a police officer's malfeasance reads: "He was found five blocks off post, in uniform, when he should have been on duty, with his arms around a woman's neck. Two women, who remonstrated with him, said that he waved his nightstick at them and said, 'Get along, or I'll arrest you for interfering with an officer in the performance of his duty.' "

WHAT PRICE VISION! Philip W. Pillsbury, president of the Pillsbury Mills, makes this comment in his firm's annual report: "For American agriculture, we should already have planned—and should be planning now—what to do with the coming grain surplus." An admirable thought; perhaps something should be done, instead of letting the grain rot.

INSURANCE FOR A BEST SELLER. The New York *Times* comments: "With all the books pouring off the presses nowadays, a person whose time is not all his own would certainly miss out on some of the most absorbing ones, if it weren't for the anti-vice societies. The deuce of it is that other people also read the anti-vice news, and before a busy man can find time to get to the book store, there isn't a copy left."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Holland's Last Chance

BY ANDREW ROTH

The Hague

THE EYES of all Dutchmen are focused these days upon their former premier, Professor Willem Schermerhorn; for they see in him Holland's last chance to retain its link to the fabulously rich Indies without a long, bitter, and costly war. The new Catholic-Labor cabinet—formation of which was delayed five weeks by wrangling over Indonesia—has given him the special title of Commissioner-General for the East Indies and unprecedented power to reach a settlement with the Indonesian Republic.

There is no doubt that attachment to empire is much more widespread in Holland than in England. There are, of course, the extreme jingoes in the picturesquely-named organization "Indies in Danger—No Time to Lose" and among the young bloods who chant, "We'll meet on Sukarno's grave." But far more important is the fact that a very large proportion of the middle class feels a strong sentimental and economic desire to hold on to the Indies. Quite a few say frankly that Holland will be merely another Denmark if she loses the Indies, from which she derived about one-fifth of her income. The feeling of others can best be exemplified by the true story of a Dutch lawyer who, in his youth, went to Batavia to practice law. He was very successful, came to love the country, and built himself a beautiful home and swimming pool in the expectation that he would settle down there in his retirement. The Japanese came and he was interned; but during his entire internment he looked forward to returning to his fine Batavia home. When he was released at the war's end he hurried back, only to find armed Indonesians at the gate and President Sukarno disporting himself in the pool. The natural reaction in such circumstances is a determination to retake the possessions into which went so many years of effort.

The problem of Dutch-Indonesian relations is complicated, and, if he is to succeed, Professor Schermerhorn will have to overcome two Dutch habits which have dogged all past negotiations: first, to yield too little and too late; second, to regard the Indonesians through 1940 eyes—as amiable, attractive, but fundamentally inferior persons who cannot really be trusted to exploit their own riches efficiently.

In the past Dutch offers have never been able to catch up with the development of nationalist feeling. Most skilled observers agree that a generous and specific offer last summer would have offset Japanese sponsorship of the Indonesian Republic. But it was not until November that the Indonesians were offered a very junior partnership in the Dutch Empire, with some say in the internal affairs of the Indies, and even this belated offer was vague and full of loopholes.

On February 10—by which time the breadth and strength of nationalist feeling was painfully evident—the Dutch took another timid step. They promised the establishment of a Commonwealth of Indonesia within the Dutch Kingdom consisting of member countries enjoying different degrees of autonomy, the commonwealth to have a parliamentary body, guaranteed freedom of speech and worship, and legal and educational equality. After a transitional period (time unspecified) the commonwealth would be free to decide its own destinies.

But here again the details were so drawn that it was obvious the Indonesians would get the shadow of self-government without the substance. The constitution for the commonwealth was to be drawn by the Netherlands government "in consultation" with Indonesian groups selected by the Netherlands government. There was no indication of the extent of the franchise contemplated. The parliament would have had an Indonesian majority, but the cabinet would not have been responsible to it. Furthermore the chief executive was to have been a representative of the Dutch crown with special powers reserved to guarantee "fundamental rights, efficient administration, and sound financial management."

It was at this point that the British government stepped into the negotiations. They were concerned about Indonesia, not only because their troops were involved, but because they feared that a real breakdown and open warfare might touch off the nationalist powder-kegs in Malaya, Burma, and India. Feeling that the Dutch could not arrive at a satisfactory compromise unaided, London sent Sir Archibald Clark-Kerr (now Lord Inverchapel) to Batavia with Acting Governor H. J. Van Mook to assist him.

The conference had a good chance of success because Indonesian Premier Sutan Sjahrir felt it was better to come to terms with the comparatively weak Dutch "little brothers" than to have Indonesia taken before the UN with the likelihood that it would wind up under the economic domination of the infinitely stronger American "big brothers." Before formal conferences began in Batavia on March 13, Premier Sjahrir broadened his cabinet and secured sweeping powers to conduct nego-

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tiations. On March 27 he went as far as he could to meet the Dutch and agreed that the Indonesian Republic would take its place as a dominion or free state within the Indonesian Commonwealth contemplated by the Dutch. However, he did insist on certain guarantees which were, in fact, the minimum he could accept in view of the insistent demands of the young, fervent nationalists for "complete independence." These were: first, recognition of *de facto* Republican control of Java and Sumatra, with other Indonesian territories allowed after three years to vote on joining the Republic; and second, a treaty between the Netherlands and the Republic covering economic, military, and foreign affairs.

H. J. Van Mook

Lord Inverchapel declared that Sjahrir was "wise, cool, and reasonable" and made it clear he felt "the proposed solution was a very good one." Dr. Van Mook had not been authorized to recognize Republican control of Sumatra or agree to a treaty with the Republic but apparently felt that Sjahrir's terms were about as good as could be secured. "The points of view," he said on the eve of his departure from Batavia, "have now become close enough to justify consultations in the Hague with a view to bridging the remaining difficulties."

But it was impossible to sell the Batavia agreement to the Dutch cabinet. The Labor Party members, including Premier Schermerhorn and Minister of Overseas Territories Logemanns, favored conciliation but the Ministers of the Catholic Party and other conservatives would have nothing of it. Irate conservatives reviled Van Mook as "more Indonesian than Dutch," and in Parliament the spokesman for the Anti-Revolutionary Party shrilled "We cannot accept this republic—a made-in-Japan product of force, murder, and robbery."

The May elections which followed made a compromise seem all the more remote for they showed that Holland, virtually alone among the occupied countries of Europe, had scarcely moved leftward at all. The dominating influence of religion remained virtually untouched: the Catholic Party won thirty-two of the hundred seats in the lower chamber; the Calvinist Anti-Revolutionary Party (which is still fighting the French Revolution), thirteen; and assorted other rightist-religious parties, sixteen. The Labor Party, which expected to make large inroads among middle-class liberals because it had abandoned Marxism for the Fabianism of the British Labor Party, succeeded in raising its number of seats from twenty-three to twenty-nine but lost part of its left wing to the Communists, who now have ten seats.

The elections were no mandate for a conciliatory policy because such a policy was supported only by the Labor Party, which favors Indonesian self-government within the Dutch kingdom, and by the Communists, who favor an alliance with an independent Indonesia. And together they received under forty per cent of the poll.

Since the elections, however, a number of factors have intervened to push the Dutch toward a more conciliatory policy, one being military weakness. Lieutenant General Sir Montague Stopford, British commander in Indonesia, has estimated it would take three army corps (roughly 150,000 men) and a year to retake Java from the Nationalists. The Dutch now have 36 inadequately armed and trained battalions (some 30,000 men) there, and another division in training here and due to be shipped in the fall. It is difficult to raise more because this is a small, war-battered country with a man-power shortage. Obviously the Dutch cannot retake the Indies unaided.

It is similarly obvious that Britain and America are anxious for the Dutch to pursue a more conciliatory policy. It is significant, of course, that Premier Beel visited London two weeks before his cabinet was formed. The British have been applying pressure by withdrawing their troops from the Indies before the Dutch can replace them. The United States has made it difficult for the Dutch to get shipping for military forces and equipment being sent to the Indies and has apparently made it clear that Holland will not be considered a good loan risk if it embarks on a colonial war. This Anglo-American pressure has softened up Dutch conservatives, who are very much afraid that the Indonesian question will be taken up by the UN and that the upshot will be expanded United States and British penetration.

Furthermore, Indonesian developments have demonstrated that prior failure to reach an agreement has strengthened nationalists who favor complete independence. The Indonesians are now asking virtually an alliance between two sovereign states and *de facto* control, not only of Java and Sumatra, but all other areas in the Indies voting to join them.

The Labor Party has utilized these pressures to secure acceptance of their policy. Just after the election the Catholics asked Labor to join a coalition cabinet, but Labor replied it would join only if its conciliatory Indonesian policy were accepted and applied by persons acceptable to it. The Catholics were unwilling to go it alone or align themselves with the rightists because they have a left wing which might split off under such conditions. Finally, after five weeks of wrangling, a cabinet was formed with J. R. Jonkman (Labor) as Minister of Overseas Territories. Even more important was the appointment of former Premier Schermerhorn as Com-

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missioner-General to reach an agreement with the Indonesians. Professor Schermerhorn—who is widely admired in Holland and trusts, and is trusted by, Sjahrir—has told his friends that he accepted this assignment only on condition that he would have full powers to secure as good a treaty as he can, even if its terms are not as favorable as those brought back by Van Mook.

It is true, of course, that Premier Beel has declared that Holland would not go beyond the instructions sent Van Mook in March, which recognized Republican control only in Java and did not provide for a treaty. But well-informed circles here feel that this is merely a way of soothing the public. The state of public opinion in Holland today is such that if Schermerhorn grants the minimum terms of the Indonesian Republic—and thus avoids a costly and probably unsuccessful colonial war—he is sure to be attacked violently for having sold out the Dutch Empire to a group of worthless, Japanese-inspired brigands. But strange as it may seem, only by loosening the ties can the connections be preserved.

Of Peace and the Balkans

BY RUSTEM VAMBERY

WHY our age should be called the atomic instead of the moronic age is not easy to explain. After all, the Dark Ages were not dark because the electric light had not yet been invented; the eighteenth century is not termed the Age of Enlightenment because of Benjamin Franklin's invention of the lightning conductor; and the nineteenth century is not called the Century of Liberalism because of the liberal profits that industrialism made possible. Today the rocket plane has antiquated the Diesel engine, the energy of the atom has been harnessed. But what mental or moral values, what human understanding or social systems of cooperation, has this "atomic" age created?

The Allies had up-to-date weapons with which they could win the war, but for lack of an ideology which will help to reconcile the ex-Allies they apparently are entirely unable to win the peace. Their haggling and stickling is due not so much to the clash of capitalist and Communist economies as it is to the power politics concealed behind their flimsy veil of obsolete arguments. There was unanimity in refusing to return the Pusterthal, with its German-speaking population, to Austria, because a strategic railway runs along the valley beside the highway which Caesar's legionaries built 2,000 years ago. To refer to a "strategic railway" in the age of the atom bomb, of rockets, and of airborne troops is as anachronistic as to resurrect Caesar's legions. All members of the Paris conference would be equally shocked if anyone dared to doubt that their efforts to establish peace are based on justice, or asserted that their methods are as antiquated as a force of lancers or musketeers would have been on D-Day in Normandy.

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It is illogical to expect a just peace from nations that demanded an "unconditional surrender" which included the unpublished provisos that served as loopholes for the House of Savoy and Admiral Horthy. Justice is the fair application of a rule; which rules or principles are the architects of peace supposed to apply? For many weeks the world was kept on tenterhooks because of Trieste and the Balkan treaties; yet these were minor questions on the fringe of the real problem. The facts were clear: Trieste, with an overwhelmingly Italian population, is a port that is essential to Yugoslavia, Austria, and Hungary. Internationalizing the city leaves the fundamental principles of the future treaties as obscure as ever.

Inexact as it is to speak of "Balkan treaties"—as neither Rumania nor Hungary is a part of the Balkan Peninsula—it is still less admissible to ignore the difference in the ethnic, economic, social, and political structures of the three satellite countries. Their national sensitiveness cannot be satisfied, yet obviously some means must be found to curb the recurrent feuds between these countries and their neighbors, if the peacemakers are preparing for peace and not for a future war.

Let us assume that the ethnic principle is paramount. Bulgarians insist that the majority of Macedonians are Bulgarians both "in speech and sympathy"; the Greeks claim that the Macedonian civilization is Greek; the Albanians say that the Macedonians are, racially, Albanian; and we are told by Hugh Seton-Watson that "the Macedonian problem is essentially an internal problem of Yugoslavia." Can it reasonably be assumed that the Bulgarian treaty is going to settle this controversial issue? Rumania claims Transylvania because the majority of the population is Rumanian, but refuses for strategic reasons to return a purely Magyar strip of territory adjacent to the frontier of Hungary. Is it not odd that, in preparing a peace treaty, the elimination of causes of friction should be overruled by considerations of the strategy of the next war? While the Rumanian and Hungarian

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governments are on friendly terms, the chauvinistic spirit of both populations has by no means abated. In spite of the candid statement by the Hungarian premier that the readjustment of the frontiers is improbable, the ghost of revisionism is still very much alive.

Reports on the Paris Conference have made it plain that strategic, economic, and political considerations weighed heavily in the Big Four decisions. None of the Big Powers likes all the decisions by which "possible seeds of furture strife have been sown," and consoling references to the fair application of conflicting principles are frequent. This game is transparent enough, as the references are merely a cloak for power politics. To ease its conscience the American delegation has inserted a clause permitting future revision of treaties, overlooking the futility of Clemenceau's similar proviso in 1919.

If for the "Free Territory of Trieste" a UN-guaranteed internationalization seemed the only possible solution, a similar solution must be found for the difficulties which the so-called Balkan treaties offer. *Quod uni justum, alteri aequum*—what is just in one case should be fair in the other—was the axiom of Roman jurists. Sumner Welles called the Trieste decision disastrous because of the "bitter friction between Italians and Yugoslavs" that it provokes. Apparently he overlooks the bitterness that would have been provoked by recognition of either the Italian or Yugoslav claim.

No matter how carefully the frontiers of the contiguous ethnic areas are drawn, the new borderline will disappoint both the interested countries, and areas with mixed populations will remain in each. In any case, territorial adjustments should be made only in a friendly way, by mutual understanding; adjustments imposed by the Big Powers will be resented by one country or the other, regardless of the justice or fairness of the decision.

For the Danubian and the Balkan region there is no justice, no solution, except in an internationally controlled federation. This is certainly not a new suggestion. Louis Kossuth was the first to advocate it, and Palacky, Masaryk, and many others have followed suit. Some years ago the Soviet Union opposed a Southeast European Federation, lest it turn into a *cordon sanitaire*; and the federation of democratic countries with such reactionary ones as Rumania and Hungary seemed impracticable to the Russians. Since then the scenery has changed. Russia has recognized these two countries as truly democratic, and there is no reason why she should put more trust in any of her "independent" neighbors than in a federation whose members are as overwhelmingly Slavophile as the Bulgars are fanatically pro-Russian. The question asked by Professor Laski,* in a recent issue of *The Nation*, is perfectly justified. Such a federation, controlled by the U. N., would dispel the suspicion of the Western Powers that the Soviet Union might use her friendly neighbors as an iron curtain or even as a spearhead against the West. Another objection raised by Mr. Hugh Seton-Watson, that "no federation will succeed unless it insures minimum standards of good government and an educational system which fosters loyalty to itself," is no objection at all; without these prerequisites unfederated states cannot prosper either.

But the existence of a Danubian or a Southeast European Federation depends not only "on its treatment of the two vital problems of social change and relations with the Great Powers" but even more on the relations between the Great Powers themselves, who have to agree upon fundamental principles and get rid of their own distrust and suspicion before they can set forth terms for their ex-enemies. In view of the post-war revival of hectic chauvinism, it is unlikely that the Danubian or Balkan countries themselves could initiate this federation unless the Great Powers use *douce violence* to instigate the scheme. *Douce violence*, however, is always preferable to the forceful violence which would inevitably follow if, by a repetition of the blunders of 1919, these countries were delivered to the mutual jealousy of the ex-Allies.

Whether the Big Four can agree upon some kind of federation in one of Europe's storm-centers is a test of just how serious the Paris peace-making is. A federation need not be a political federation to begin with, as an economic federation guaranteed by the U. N. is likely to develop into some kind of political union. Neither the question of disputed territories nor the protection of national minorities can be solved in any other way. Though it may sound paradoxical to say so, small nations cannot preserve their independence without first sacrificing it. This is what Señor Araquistain meant by saying: "Many states of Central and Eastern Europe cannot be independent; some of them are so dependent upon the others that they have no freedom of determination. Thus they must federate." World War I disrupted three empires to satisfy the appetite of nationalism. Now these liberated nations have to be liberated once more; to save their national existence, they must be integrated.

If this Atomic Age is to produce more convincing intellectual results than the knowledge that the atom bomb can destroy vessels massed in a lagoon or that goats can remain alive where human beings would have been killed, it must show that splitting the atom does not imply the atomization of mankind. Vetoing, getting tough, pounding the table, and similar paraphernalia of sovereignty are no substitutes for a serious endeavor to establish peace with our ex-enemies and our ex-allies. Tocqueville's *patrie intellectuelle* is of greater value than that sovereignty which Jean Bodin contributed to political science. Sovereignty has become both progenitor and idol of nationalism, until today it resembles that primitive god of Greek mythology who devoured his own children.

* "Does he [Molotov] assume that a regional arrangement under the principles of the United Nations is evil, but that the organization of Russian satellite states in the east is good?" [Information Please, Mr. Molotov. *The Nation*, June 15]

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

British Press Trusts

A FINE hullabaloo arose in Fleet Street recently when Herbert Morrison, No. 2 in the British Labor Government, indicated that a public inquiry into the newspaper industry was under consideration. The press lords sprang to their dictaphones yelling "the free press is in danger" and charged Morrison with tyranny. Beverley Baxter, Tory M. P. and "trained seal" employed by the Kemsley newspaper combine, asserted that, since all the salient facts about the press were already known, "an inquiry can only have as its purpose a threat to the continuation of its independence." A curious argument, although one that is familiar enough to students of the newspaper industry, British or American. The press which boasts that it exists for the enlightenment of the public hates to have the spotlight turned on its own activities.

As a matter of fact, the origin of the statement that caused such a furore was a demand, backed by a large part of the British press, for an investigation of the British Broadcasting Corporation, which is a government monopoly. Mr. Morrison, while refusing this demand on technical grounds, promised an inquiry before the Corporation's charter was again renewed and added blandly: "I think all good channels for the dissemination of opinion to the public would benefit by having their state of health inquired into by an independent body. We do not exclude the press from that consideration."

Whether a Royal Commission on the press, with authority to subpoena witnesses and documents, will really be appointed is still uncertain. There appears to be a division of opinion in the Cabinet about the wisdom of such a step but, it is said, the doubters are wavering, thanks to the disgraceful campaign of distortion that some newspapers indulged in following the government decision to institute bread-rationing. This didn't just take the form of editorial criticism; nobody would complain about that. The anger of Labor ministers was aroused when some papers, ignoring the dictum that "the news is sacred," devoted their front pages to selected reports designed to "prove" that there was no need of rationing or, if there was, it was because the government had created a grain shortage. Day after day, items to this effect were presented under inflammatory headlines together with stories purporting to show that, while Britain suffered, Europe was wallowing in plenty.

This performance pointed up the demand for a press inquiry which the National Union of Journalists had put forward at its annual conference in April. Its resolution suggested specifically that information should be sought on newspaper ownership and finance, on the effects of the growth of chain-publishing in relation to competition, on the influence of advertising and financial interests, and on methods of distorting and suppressing essential facts. The great value of such an investigation would be educational. It would allow the public a glimpse behind the "iron curtain" that protects so many editorial and publishing sanctums and enable it to see just what interests influence the making of the news. I can think of nothing more enlightening than the presentation at a public hearing of samples of the daily directives which editors of some of the mass-circulation British papers receive from their owners. When I was in London in 1944 I was told that one press lord had issued instructions to play up all black-market cases involving Jews. The existence of such orders is common gossip among newspaper men but there is no way of letting the public know the extent to which what they take as "pure news" is tainted at the source.

With regard to the ownership of the British press, the average newspaper reader knows that control of a large part of it is concentrated in the hands of a few men. But a thorough airing of the methods by which that control has been achieved and is now exercised would be of great public interest. For British newspaper finance is an intricate affair involving many holding and sub-holding companies. For example, the principal company in the Rothermere group is Associated Newspapers, Ltd., which owns the *Daily Mail*, London *Evening News*, and the *Sunday Dispatch*, and, through subsidiaries, owns or controls eight provincial evening papers and six provincial weeklies. A large part of the capital of this company is widely distributed among the public but a block sufficient to insure control is held by Daily Mail and General Trust, Ltd. The present Viscount Rothermere is chairman of both these companies but it is not known how much of the latter's capital he personally owns. It appears, however, to be sufficient to give him a decisive voice in the direction of the group.

Before 1937 another of the great British press empires was known as the Berry Group since it combined the interests of the two Berry brothers whose fortunes originated in South Wales coal and iron. In that year, however, the partnership was dissolved. The older of the two, who had been ennobled as Viscount Camrose, took over the stodgy, conservative *Daily Telegraph* and control of the *Financial Times*. The younger, Viscount Kemsley (his services to the Tory Party had also earned him a peerage), spread himself much wider. He now owns or controls, through a variety of companies, the London *Daily Sketch*, a morning tabloid, four "national" Sunday papers and two local ones, six provincial morning papers, seven evening, and six weeklies. The whole combine claims a circulation of over nine million copies and it is, perhaps, not surprising that Mr. Morrison has expressed himself as "especially unhappy about the Kemsley gramophone chain of more than twenty newspapers." In a reply Lord Kemsley defended "the principle of chain newspapers as Mr. Morrison would defend the existence of cooperative chain stores. By increased efficiency, increased buying power, and greater distributive power, they can give a greater service to the public."

The analogy Lord Kemsley chose is enlightening as well as alarming. His premise, obviously, is that newspaper production is a business like any other business and must be judged solely by business criteria. But while the public may well benefit from standardized brands of soap or cereal, standardized news and opinion is a menace to democracy. A newspaper monopoly which places "freedom of the press" at its masthead is sailing under false colors. Since knowledge must precede reform, public review of this monopoly would be invaluable.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Hope and Wisdom

THE OLD COUNTRY. By Sholom Aleichem. Translated by Julius and Frances Butwin. Crown Publishers. $3.

IF THE Gentile often fails to understand Jewish humor, it is because the Jewish joke rests upon knowledge he does not share and assumptions he is not prepared to recognize.

The line that divides Jew from Gentile also defines the moral complexities of our world. The acceptance or exclusion of the Jew—the precise area of acceptance and the precise area of exclusion—characterizes the moral structure of a society with particular sharpness, not because the Jew is a saint (or a sinner), and not simply because it is a bad action to exclude the Jew, but, in a more complicated fashion, because of the Jew's "omnipresence," and because everyone, friend or enemy, regards the Jew's existence as a moral rather than a practical issue. (That is why it matters so little whether the Jews "really" have power or "really" are cheats.)

The Jews have developed, during all those years in their half-world of history, one special competence: they know the nature of society. They know without thinking and without formulation; the knowledge is as habitual to them—and as necessary—as the mechanic's knowledge of his tools. Often enough they have misunderstood the incidental (but not unimportant) values of the larger world; often enough they have been duped by their own compulsion to hope; but in the back of their minds they have always known the basic facts. Marx was no surprise to them: how could they not have understood capitalism? Freud was no surprise to them: who knew better how the mind moves against itself? Even Hitler, the final horror, was not precisely unexpected: to the logical mind that cared about the problem one murdered Jew implied six million.

Their knowledge is not theirs exclusively, but they come to it earlier and more inevitably, having fewer illusions and fewer of the graces of security to shake off. They are not better than others, or worse, or wiser, or more intelligent. They are *older*.

Like old men, they are pessimists. Whatever the ultimate affirmations of the Jewish religious tradition (and the religion is significantly lacking in personal promises), individual Jews are strongly aware of the need to live in this world from day to day; and in this world, though never without hope, they expect the worst. Like old men, they can be sour or anxious or wise, depending on how they accommodate themselves to their knowledge of the possibilities. And they express themselves best in complex and ironical humor, that characteristic expression of mature pessimism, in which all the sad conclusions are assumed and nothing remains but to arrange them over and over again in new poetic configurations.

In America the Jewish joke means: I make believe I am a gentleman, but the joke is I am just a miserable Jew. And this means: the attempt was a bad idea and it is too late to do anything about it.

In the ghetto of eastern Europe—Sholom Aleichem's world—the joke was different.

The ghetto was dark and dreary and narrow, and it had its own vices—after all, no one really enjoyed it—but it had its own mind, too. There, where almost everyone was hungry and the smallest processes of survival demanded every day new prodigies of manipulation and exertion, the individual was protected from demoralization by the suffering community. Everyone was worth something, everyone could raise his voice in the synagogue or argue about the interpretation of the Talmud. Poverty was no shame and Jewishness was no shame.

There developed in the ghetto a special type of worldly wisdom, in which a pervasive pessimism existed side by side with persistent (and unreasonable) hope and a certain indulgent acceptance of misery and evil. With what seems almost equal tolerance the Jews accepted God's injustice and their neighbors' cruelty, having suffered exceptionally from both. (The Jews have jokes about Gentiles, but they have never produced anything like the Gentiles' jokes about Jews.) And they were sure of their own value, as they have not been since.

The ghetto was conscious of its idiosyncrasies and felt very strongly the tension of its relationship to the larger world, but it also had to take its position very seriously. The ironies and absurdities of ghetto experience could not become entirely clear until the ghetto itself began to break up. Sholom Aleichem was not a folk artist; he was an "enlightened" Jew who looked at the ghetto in terms of the larger world. His audience stretched from Ukrainia to New York—the whole length of the path of migration—precisely because he expressed the dilemma of the generations that felt the inadequacy of the ghetto and had to make a choice: the ghetto was wrong in every detail, but it was "essentially" right.

"No," Sholom Aleichem writes, "the Kasrilevkites have never heard of canals or water works or electricity or other such luxuries. But what does that matter? Everywhere people die the same death, and they are placed in the same earth, and are beaten down with the same spades. Thus my Rabbi, Reb Israel, used to say—when he was happiest, at a wedding or other celebration, after he had had a few glasses of wine and was ready to lift up the skirts of his long coat and dance a *kazatsky*. . . ."

In the end, this is what all great humor says: death makes us all ridiculous together, even Rothschild, so Reb Israel is not the most ridiculous because he stays in Kasrilevka and dances a *kazatsky* when there is a wedding or other celebration.

For Sholom Aleichem, the Jewish joke meant: I have to live like a miserable wretch, and I *am* a miserable wretch, but the joke is that I am also a king among men—a Jew. This means: considering the circumstances, I have not done badly.

"As we say on Yom Kippur," say Tevye the Dairyman,

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"the Lord decides who will ride on horseback and who will crawl on foot. The main thing is—hope! A Jew must always hope, must never lose hope. And in the meantime, what if we waste away to a shadow? For that we are Jews—the Chosen People, the envy and admiration of the world."

ROBERT S. WARSHOW

Contemporary Constitutional Theory

THE GROWTH OF CONSTITUTIONAL POWER IN THE UNITED STATES. By Carl Brent Swisher. University of Chicago Press. $2.50.

A FEW years ago Professor Swisher published a general constitutional history of the United States called "American Constitutional Development." The academic critics of this volume, who otherwise found it excellent, noted the author's predilection for the contemporary period in American constitutional history which led him to treat rather scantily the early constitutional controversies. In the present work he does not appear as a repentant sinner. Invited to lecture at the University of Chicago, he chose as his subject the whirligig of contemporary constitutional theory. These lectures constitute the present volume which is really an expansion of the concluding chapters of the earlier one. Their primary purpose is to show how the Constitution has survived the stresses of the First and Second World War.

Professor Swisher is not one of those teachers of political science who ignores economic realities. He seems to be a liberal, left of center, and is aware of the economic aspects of state-federal relations, and of the real import of the issue of freedom of enterprise versus governmental control. He therefore refuses to join in the ululations of the N. A. M. and the A. B. A. He stresses the Supreme Court's recognition of the fact that the Constitution does not provide for the maintenance of a nice balance between the Federal government and the states. He even calls attention to the extra-constitutional existence of administrative areas.

Nevertheless it must not be supposed that Professor Swisher is a critic of the fundamental scheme of American government. He believes in the whole political philosophy of checks and balances and of the separation of powers. He observes with evident satisfaction that the Constitution drafted in the 1780's continues in the 1940's to serve as the Constitution of the most highly industrialized and powerful of the great nations of the world. He thus ignores the significance of those constitutional amendments which shifted the balance of political and economic power by broadening the electorate and by expanding the scope of Federal taxation. He is not even one of those who has toyed with the idea of grafting the British cabinet system upon the stock of the American constitution. Indeed, like almost all experts in political science, he defends and justifies the deliberate cultivation of inefficiency in government. This was perhaps a fine philosophy in the eighteenth century but the most pressing contemporary need is to reconcile efficiency in government with the preservation of political democracy. Professor Swisher does not contribute much, however, to the solution of this problem. One of his concluding chapters is indeed entitled "New Horizons for the Judiciary" but its moral turns

A literary event

CYRIL CONNOLLY'S

The Condemned Playground

The publication of *The Condemned Playground* will be considered by many critics as one of the most important events of the current publishing season. For Cyril Connolly is the brilliant editor of *Horizon*, the English literary magazine which has become the rallying point for everything that is young and vital in present-day English thought. Jacques Barzun opened a recent *Atlantic Monthly* article by saying, "The name of Cyril Connolly should be better known to American readers"—and *The Condemned Playground* undoubtedly will accomplish this purpose, for it contains 36 of Mr. Connolly's finest essays.

"This is an intelligent and amusing book, doubly welcome at a time when high thinking and low writing are the general rule."—

George Orwell, *London Observer*

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Introduction; The Position of Joyce; *Les Faux-Monnayeurs;* Distress of Plenty; New Swift Letters; Lord Chesterfield; Imitations of Horace; Illusions of Likeness; A. E. Housman: A Controversy; Thomas Mann; *Onus Vallis Visionis;* French and English Cultural Relations; Ninety Years of Novel-Reviewing; More About the Modern Novel; Defects of English Novels; Reviewers; Mr. Mossbross Takes the Class; Felicity; The Novel—Addict's Cupboard; Felicity Entertains; Told in Gath; Where Engels Fears to Tread; Year Nine; What Will He Do Next; An Unfortunate Visit; Ackermann's England; Spring Revolution; Barcelona; England Not My England; Conversations in Berlin; The Fate of an Elizabethan; A Tyrant of Taste; Psycho-Analysis; The Ant-Lion; "1843"; The Art of Being Good; Writers and Society, 1940-3.

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out to be that "the task of the judiciary . . . remains fundamentally what it has always been."

It must be apparent that there is considerable confusion of thought in Professor Swisher's book. At times he maintains such a stringent objectivity that it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine his own position on many controversial issues. At other times, however, he betrays a surprising partisanship. Thus at one point he explains a decision of the Supreme Court limiting the late President Roosevelt's power of removal as due to a desire on the part of the Court to curb a President accused of yearning for dictatorship "whose administration was probably justly condemned for a lack of proper concern about the orderly processes of law." The decision in question is, however, perfectly explicable in terms of sound legal principles. Professor Swisher also notes without qualification that the report of the American Bar Association on the much advertised abuses in administrative agencies was "well substantiated in fact," and reveals a marked friendliness towards the doctrine of contempt of court as applied to the extra-forensic publication of editorial opinion.

WILLIAM SEAGLE

Poets

COLLECTED POEMS. By Henry Treece. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

LOUGH DERG AND OTHER POEMS. By Denis Devlin. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.

ALONG about 1938 a small group of young English writers, under the literary influence of Dylan Thomas and the ideological influence of Herbert Read, started a movement called The New Apocalypse; at least they went through all the motions. There were manifestoes, anthologies, log-rolling. About 1943 the same group started another movement called Personalism; this was more of the same. "Apocalyptic writing," wrote J. F. Hendry, one of the group, "occurs when expression breaks through the structure of language to become more organic without thereby impairing language as a means of communication"; which is to say that when perfect authority and complete freedom coexist the world will be a very nice place. The whole group, in a rather touching, amateur way, took itself intensely seriously (they compared their critics to people "who would have attacked the courage of Christ, the visions of Joan, and the love of Abelard"). All the good in everything, from the Georgians to the Surrealists, was to be incorporated into their work, and the "modish mannerisms" of Auden's generation were firmly condescended to.

It must be because, of all the group, Treece took himself most seriously that Knopf decided to publish (but not to proof-read) a book of his poems; it is certainly not because he is a good poet, or even the best of the group: G. S. Fraser is a far better and much less pretentious writer. Treece has all the faults and almost none of the virtues of Thomas. There is in him the same tendency to surround a very simple idea with a fog of rich imagery which has no source save his own forced emotions. But he lacks almost completely Thomas' gift of phrase and entirely his great rhetorical vigor. He suffers, in addition, from a kind of pompous and naïve interest in himself which makes him believe that the universe is only a convenient device for allowing him to explain his feelings; nothing less than the stars ever listens to any observation he makes about himself: they even bent a sympathetic ear to his "silver scream" when he was a baby. The ideas in his poems are few and simple. He worries about his own soul, his special gift as a poet, and the fact that life is sometimes disappointing to sensitive people like himself. He can be astonishingly verbose over the simplest ideas on these subjects:

> Before my tails began, before the light
> Burst like a devil's howl behind my lids,
> Words flickered in my skull and tied my tongue;
> Twisting my garment's hem to gain a blessing, etc.

The irrelevance of the "wit" and imagery here is characteristic. There is no meaning in the puns on *tales* and *tongue-tied*: they are euphuistic in the worst sense; there is no point to the "devil's howl": anything loud would do as well to trick up the stock and mechanical use of the transferred epithet; and the idea that even at this stage he wanted words must surely be only a part of Treece's humorless delusion about himself, for there is little to support it in these 155 closely printed pages. An English critic has said that Treece's poetry reminds him of a man who, "being inarticulate . . . satisfies his craving to be noticed by snivelling fortissimo." This is about it.

Denis Devlin's poetry is quite another matter. Here is maturity, seriousness, and talent. The development between what he was writing in 1930, when he and Brian Coffey had a few of their poems printed, and what he writes now is remarkable. He has a gift of phrase and a fine ear:

> Courage kills its practitioners and we live,
> Nothing forgotten, nothing to forgive . . .
> One of the best the worst had never feared . . .
> Among them a bold, a billboard baggage . . .

He can manage equally well a number of styles. There is the wit and virtuosity of meter of "Bacchanal":

> Those that are not so sure that the Poor in Pogrom will not be Rather a Bore,
> Lips bitter-sweet, they Know by Culture, they know Human Nature can Grow no More;
> Those that are Game to Grin and Bear it, those that the Wear and Tear of, that hesitate . . .
> Those that My Country, that Let Us Pray, that Drop by the Way, those that are Late . . .

There is the gravity and eloquence of "On Mount Muckish":

> This hill could stage the end-play of a move
> Of tribes their lifelong by the sagas haunted . . .

There is the fine, subtle movement of "Meditation at Avila":

> Magnificence, this terse-lit, star-quartz universe,
> Woe, waste, and magnificence, my soul!
> Stand in the window. Fountain waters
> Bloom on invisible stems. Soul, my dear friend,
> Welcome as always . . .

Devlin shows some tendency to fall back on the slight and static descriptive piece, like "Boy Bathing," in which the style becomes somewhat elaborate and decorative; even such good poems as "Annapolis" and "Daphne Stillorgan"

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seem to me to suffer a little from too much impression and too little conviction. Perhaps this is because, suspended between "the men of God" and "the priests of mankind," he finds it very difficult to write out of his whole mind. In any event, all the long poems here, and many of the short ones too, are as good as anything we have had in a long time. The danger for Devlin, I would guess, would be the occasionalness of his poetry. It is nine years since "Intercessions," yet seven of these poems—three of them long ones—are reprinted from that volume. However, poetry as good as this is worth waiting for. ARTHUR MIZENER

Light from the East

THE MEETING OF EAST AND WEST: AN INQUIRY CONCERNING WORLD UNDERSTANDING. By Professor F. S. C. Northrop. Macmillan. $6.

IN HIS new book "The Meeting of East and West: An Inquiry Concerning World Understanding" Professor F. S. C. Northrop takes his cue from the Herder-Hegel-Vico-Spengler tradition; but his book is both more and less than what the jacket calls "a significant achievement by an American in the philosophy of culture": more because its goal is harmony at all costs, and less because this goal, at the present time, must be dictated by interests outside of philosophy. The book tackles, on a variety of levels, a problem which many orientalists are beginning to consider the ultimate bugaboo, which will be here to hex us long after relatively minor troubles such as present differences with Russia have been resolved. Professor Northrop writes from a wholesomely pragmatic bias with more than pragmatic sympathies, and behind them is a faith in the moving power of philosophical first principles that makes recent studies of the "place" of philosophy in college curricula seem slightly absurd. In these times the book should be read for that reason alone.

Like a Fifth Avenue traffic signal, Professor Northrop's book is surmounted by a vision of grace and sheds light from several angles. But the light is not all the same color, and not all the vehicles that might legitimately reach the celestial traffic circle are allowed to get through. The critique of contemporary cultures—Mexican, Anglo-American, Marxist-Russian, Aristotelian-Catholic, Idealist-German, and Oriental—is excellent on the whole and would make a good college text in itself. His style is spare, direct, and occasionally put to dramatic uses, as befits such a study, but beyond the criticism a certain professional naïveté enters in. Unity, pursued through many devious abstractions, too often appears to be only the factitious unity of the classroom, as if the desire, with the aid of a few technical phrases, could accomplish the deed.

Professor Northrop commits the kind of sin that *Existenz-philosophie* came into the world to combat: making a problem in physics and epistemology out of cultural relations, instead of referring them immediately to the nexus of man-loving, man-hating, and man-exploiting.

Instead of teaching Americans to appreciate the aesthetic factor in the Oriental tradition, it would seem more practical to bring them to an appreciation of the moral factor in their own. He gives religion its place, but his own positivistic

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temper leads him to sympathize with similarly positivistic Eastern religions, and this blinds him to the essential point of religious difference between East and West. That difference lies not so much in the use of two complementary components of the human intellectual faculty, as Professor Northrop maintains, as in two irreconcilable views of the meaning of religious truth. Western theism cannot be exorcised by an enumeration of its abuses. We can abdicate our intolerance, but not our temperament. Within a reasonable theistic faith, intolerance should be no problem.

R. W. FLINT

BRIEFER COMMENT

I Remember, I Remember

GENE FOWLER'S surname is Devlan, and thereby hangs the tale that wags in and out of this story of his youthful days in the Rocky Mountain West, "A Solo in Tom-Toms" (Viking, $3).

Some months before Gene was born, his father, Charles Francis Devlan, after a row about a cup of coffee, stamped out of the Denver home of his mother-in-law and went up in the mountains to live the life of a hermit. Gene did not see Devlan again for thirty years. A good part of his boyhood was spent in looking for a substitute father in the persons of successive heroes he picked from among his Denver acquaintances, ranging from Buffalo Bill to Judge Ben B. Lindsey.

Fowler can always tell a good story; reading this book is like lining up before a Denver bar and listening to a first-rate reporter reminisce. It's loads of fun while it lasts, but you come away with an empty taste in your mouth.

Fowler presents what has become, since Lincoln Steffens, a rather conventional set of unconventional Western characters: the pioneering, dominating grandmother who took him in charge, the dominated grandfather who was always prospecting in them thar hills, the run-o'-the-mine oddities who drifted around Denver in the first years of this century.

For some reason, perhaps glandular, Fowler now prefers to present himself as an ancient of days for whom the hearse is just around the corner, and he tells of men, women, and events in the early 1900's as though they were part of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Surely even in the Rockies fifty-six years—Fowler's present age—is not the time of life when a man drags himself out into a sunlit square, there to mumble his gums over his youthful indiscretions. But there are times when Fowler comes dangerously near doing just that. Keep the old chin up, Gene; you are not really, as you were once described, "the last of the bison." According to the latest report of the Department of the Interior, the herd is increasing so fast that they are thinking of letting some hand-picked hunters loose on it. There are plenty of stories in your system, decrepit as you may take it to be.

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Six Million Murders

IN MARCH, 1943, THE FIRST CREMATORIUM was opened at Maidanek: "Prominent guests were present at the inauguration. . . . The program consisted of the gassing of 8,000 Cracow Jews. The guests, both officers and civilians, were extremely satisfied with the results, and the special peephole fitted into the door was in constant use. They were lavish in their praise of this newly established installation." This precious item, one of hundreds of gruesome details contained in "The Black Book: The Nazi Crime Against the Jewish People" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $5), is not an "atrocity story," but was taken verbatim from a United States War Refugee Board Report. Just because this volume is composed exclusively of incontestable, well-annotated facts and figures, supported by about 150 photostats, photographs, maps, and other visual aids, it ought to be studied by those naïve G. I.'s who have been shouting that Hitlerism can't have been so bad after all. This story of the cold-blooded murder of six million European Jews should also be read by the optimists who are not disturbed by "restricted" labels: the German plot that ended with gas chambers started with similar "innocent" signs of bias. So-called Christians who do not mind attacks on the Jewish religion may learn from this volume that the Nazis' vituperative assault on the Old Testament was followed by a "crusade" against the New Testament, "laden with the filth of Near Eastern Jewish and African life." Workers, finally, who may be ready to swallow anti-Semitism if it is served under a layer of pseudo-socialism are told here how a demagogue like Father Coughlin received the material for his un-American broadcasts directly from the Nazi World Service and often used it without any major alteration.

"The Black Book" was sponsored by four major Jewish groups—the World Jewish Congress, the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee (U. S. S. R.), the National Council of the Jews of Palestine, and the American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists, and Scientists. The anonymous editors begin their horrible tale with the Jew-baiting of the 1870's, and give a comprehensive survey of the vast madness that developed into homicidal mania in the past twelve years. The reader is warned that the danger of a repetition of these crimes, whether directed against the Jews or against another group, is not yet eliminated: "Let us remember that fascism will emerge from this war not only with all the bitterness of defeat but also with the sweet memory of the facility of mass murder." Of particular interest is Section Six, Resistance, which contains a great deal of almost unknown material on the courage displayed by the poorly equipped, often completely unarmed Jewish partisans in their fight against their

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powerful enemy. The story of the Warsaw ghetto battle is of course well known, but there existed hundreds of heroic ghettos in Hitler's Festung Europa. ALFRED WERNER

A Liberal Philosopher

LIBERALISM as Professor Morris R. Cohen conceives it in "The Faith of a Liberal" (Holt, $3.75) is at once a philosophy of method and a philosophy of civilization. It is not immediately or exclusively a theory of politics as conventionally understood, although much of the illustrative material considered in the book is directed to this central area of human concern. The faith of a liberal is synonymous with faith in reason and the critical method of science. It is that method which lies at the base of and insures the conditions for the flowering of those humane values we identify with civilization. Its essence consists in the liberation of the mind from bondage to a restricted range of possibilities and to a too ready acceptance of inherited modes of thought, where these are defended by authority, tenacity, and appeals to self-evidence.

So conceived, liberalism takes on a logical hue, and it becomes instructive to compare Cohen's approach with that of our other great philosopher of liberalism, John Dewey. While both regard intelligence as crucial in the definition of liberalism, there is a significant contrast in the points they emphasize in analyzing that method. For Cohen the value of critical intelligence lies in its liberalizing of the imagination, its enrichment of our vision and understanding. For Dewey its value lies primarily in its use as a principle of protest and control, its service to social action in the liberation of individuals from oppressive conditions. Dewey takes his cue from the social arts and technologies, and stresses the role of experiment in the overt manipulation and redirection of affairs. Cohen takes as central the lessons taught by the mathematical and physical sciences—especially the development of non-Euclidean geometries—with respect to the importance of a critical examination of basic assumptions in the light of their possible alternatives.

It is this aspect of Cohen's views which comes out with characteristic brilliance and learning in the variety of topics treated in this volume: socialism, academic freedom, Zionism, law, literary criticism, the role of philosophy in education, religious institutions, and science itself. In a series of papers that are made up of short notes, reviews, and lengthy articles, Cohen displays the acumen and polemical verve for which he is well remembered as both teacher and writer.

MILTON K. MUNITZ

Escape to the Resistance

GEORGE MILLAR gave up a job as war correspondent in order to take a more active part in the war. He felt an irresistible urge to make this switch, an urge which his wife, perhaps correctly, characterized as "boy-scout." He himself made no effort to understand it; he merely acceded to his not uncommon wish to participate in a more lively way in the history of his own time. He lost nothing professionally, as it happens, for he turned his experiences into dense and masterful journalistic narrative. Of his first trials, chronologically, one may read in his more-recently published "Horned Pigeon" (Doubleday, $2.75); of his later, in "Waiting in the Night" (Doubleday, $2.75).

Lieutenant Millar was early captured on the Libyan desert, was passed from German to Italian hands through a series of prison camps, and escaped through a series of French Resistance hands over the Pyrennees into Spain and safety. Throughout these two long volumes, he indulges in little speculation, gives no evidence of a historical perspective, comes to no conclusions either of a political or philosophical nature; but surely he has written here, for any uses whatever, two very impressive and valuable source books. He is extremely observant and matter of fact, of a remarkable detachment and honesty; and these qualities, together with his gift for unequivocal description and his happy freedom from the encumbrance of stylistic self-consciousness, make these books something very special in themselves. It is true that any endlessly factual account tends to pall, but his encounters are on the whole so richly interesting, and the communication of experience is so immediate and sharp, that the excitement is almost unendurably cumulative.

When Millar decided after his return to England to join the Maquis, he did so to seek balm for a deep emotional wound—the shock of his wife's desertion—but there was a valid enough reason for going back to France in his own history as a recent refugee. "Waiting in the Night" covers his life with these fighting groups from the early summer of 1944 until the "liberation" of France. From the time he was parachuted onto a dark field near Dijon until he was flown back, Millar kept a nice eye on the ball, as he had previously, to such effect that it would seem possible for anyone who had never been to France to go to this area, map indelibly in mind, and seek out all the ways resourceful Millar went, all the people he knew and worked with there. And there are many one would want to know—for Millar has shown himself in these two books keen to the virtues of human beings. Without being profound, he is still very sensitive to the expression of character (though not altogether critical of his faculty, for his occasional injected epithets tend to be sentimentally inadequate, stock, and rather laughable—of the "decent fellow," "brave soul" variety) and of a just temper, so that the quality of his adventures comes through with more than a visual and tactile clarity, extraordinary as this alone is.

But these are accounts to read, not to describe, for the blow by blow description is well enough in Millar's hands. And much of significance that is general resides, implicit, in this wealth of the particular. GERTRUDE BUCKMAN

The Atom, Peaceful or Otherwise

UNLIKE SMYTH, whose classic report on atomic energy was confined to its use for "military purposes," Gamov, in his book—"Atomic Energy" (Macmillan, $3)—has no such limitations. It is a fairly technical report of the evolutionary elements leading up to the discovery and deliberate use of the energy within the atom, with an emphasis on possible ways of utilizing such energy for peaceful purposes. The book is a well written and authoritative exposition of the most dramatic discovery in the history of the experimental sciences. BENJAMIN HARROW

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

ON page 230 of his autobiography, "Bad Boy of Music" (Doubleday, Doran, $3), George Antheil describes the way the project of his opera "Helen Retires" originated. At Capri, in the spring of 1929, he read in the Paris *Chicago Tribune* of John Erskine's visit to Paris:

> He [Erskine] had been interviewed there and had expressed his extreme interest in writing new opera librettos.
>
> In another item, just beneath, it stated that John Erskine was president of the mighty Juilliard Foundation, an institution for giving money to worthy musical projects—such as producing concert pianists en masse, concert violinists en gros, and concert singers by the bushel.
>
> *Also the Juilliard provided half of the money by which the mighty Metropolitan Opera Company subsisted!*
>
> This latter item caught my eye.

And so he wrote to Erskine suggesting an opera about Helen of Troy.

The book is full of such extraordinary incidents, the truth or untruth of which I am in no position to say anything about. But I can say that Antheil never read in that issue of the Paris *Chicago Tribune* an item about the Juilliard giving money to the Metropolitan; because in 1929 the Juilliard was not giving money to the Metropolitan. And I may suspect, therefore, that a lot of other incidents did not happen in the extraordinary way Antheil says they did. But his way makes entertaining reading; and the book should be read strictly for entertainment—for example, the entertainment of reading about the young carpenter who looked like "Bronislav Nijinsky" and sure enough turned out to have been in the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe.

Just as the book mingles truth with fantasy, so it mingles keen perception with things like the concluding discussion of Stokowski (who has played Antheil's music): that "very great man" who is "being constantly and unreasonably wounded by the world"; "one of the two greatest orchestral conductors in the world, from many points of view the greatest," who, "never satisfied with one accomplishment . . . had created, in succession, the Philadelphia Orchestra and the American Youth Orchestra, two of the finest orchestral units in the world . . . had lifted the technique of radio-broadcasting, movie-film, and wax recording from a lowly to a fine art," and "was even now in the process of forming a new orchestra—which . . . would, I felt, become even greater than his previous creations, provided that he did not leave the country before then." For "I hope I can stay here," says Stokowski, "but if I cannot, if unjust criticism continues, we may leave America." And, Antheil tells us, "I thought of one of our greatest men leaving our country—for what? For having dared so much, done so much for American music, for all music?"

When Edwin Denby began to write about the dance for the *Herald Tribune* I pointed out the value of his criticism: "Mr. Denby has an eye that sees; and looking at anything through this eye is an excitingly illuminating experience." Grace Robert, the author of "The Borzoi Book of Ballets (Knopf, $4.50), has no such eye. This is evident, first of all, in what she says about the ballets, which is not only unilluminating but often inaccurate (two examples are her incorrect

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descriptions of the action of "Le Baiser de la fée" and "Billy the Kid") It is evident also in her choice of ballets for discussion: she includes unimportant works that have not been given for years and are not likely to be seen again, but omits important works in the active repertory ("The Nutcracker," "Mozartiana," "Le Bourgeois gentilhomme"); she gives eight pages to the satire of "Gala Performance," and barely seven to an omnibus account of a number of Balanchine's works, in which "Concurrence" and "Cotillon" share a one-sentence reference. And it is most evident in her choice of photographs, which not only is tasteless but does not properly document the text.

The reviewers' statements about William Walton's score for "Henry V" led me to think he had produced something original; but the music, when I heard it, seemed to me to be the conventional type of film music for each situation, only done with Walton's technical expertness and fastidiousness.

CONTRIBUTORS

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Germany's Hope

Dear Sirs: Saul K. Padover in his article on the German Social Democrats (*The Nation,* June 29, 1946) states that:

1. The S. P. D. is as dependent on London as the German Communist party is on Moscow.
2. Its leaders are repudiating Marxist doctrines.
3. The party intends to transform itself into a bourgeois movement with a liberal outlook.
4. Schumacher believes in a non-Socialist democratic policy along conventional Western European lines.
5. German Social Democrats are, on the whole, good nationalists.

It would be interesting to know how the author arrived at these rather stupefying conclusions. Anyone who ever took the pains to interview leading Social Democrats or to read the party's public statements must come to directly opposite results, namely:

1. While the British Labor party has now at last understood that it must support the S. P. D., the German Social Democrats take great care in defending their political and moral independence. In the dependence of the S. P. D. on London and the Communists on Moscow there is not only a difference in degree, but in kind.
2. The S. P. D. refuses to make Marxism a catechism and admits that socialism may very well be founded on ethical principals, but Schumacher has repeatedly defended the basic truth of Marxism and has called it the most efficient of all modern sociological doctrines.
3. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the S. P. D. is, and intends to remain, a Socialist party. No responsible Social Democrat has ever said or written anything to justify Padover's assertion.
4. Schumacher not only does not believe in a non-Socialist democratic policy, but advocates socialism now with more insistence than any other German in a leading position.
5. German Social Democrats repudiate nationalism and advocate internationalism. Often they have denounced the new German nationalism from which the Communists try to profit.

For proof I invite you to study the resolutions of the S. P. D. party convention in Hanover, May 8-11, 1946, and the speech delivered by Schumacher. I really cannot understand why Padover conveys such an unsympathetic and untrue impression of the Social Democrats if he believes, as I do, that they form one of the few sectors of the population that are not poisoned with fascism and that they are the people on whom the Western powers must mainly rely if they wish to reconstruct Germany along democratic lines.

HERMAN EBELING

New York, N. Y., July 7

Gold Coast Item

Dear Sirs: In your issue of July 6 Andrew Roth writes: "In the Gold Coast [British West Africa] there will be a majority of natives in the legislature for the first time in Africa." Someone has deliberately substituted the word "legislature" here for legislative council. No British Crown Colony has a legislature; the right to make laws lies in the governor and above him in the Colonial Office in London. The governor usually has associated with him an executive and a legislative council, to whose advice he listens, but is under no legal compulsion to follow.

Members of the legislative council used to be entirely official or appointed by the governor. Lately on the Gold Coast, a majority of the council are elected, but the council still remains an advisory body and not a legislature.

W. E. B. DU BOIS

President of the Pan-African Congress
New York, N. Y., July 8

Oops! We Dropped One

Dear Sirs: I note with dismay that the solar system has now been reduced to eight planets. General Chisholm doesn't specify which one is gone, but I'll bet I know the villain who did away with it—the BOMB. I look forward to your next gala "one of our planets is missing" number, wherein General Chisholm will doubtless reveal the victim.

Seriously, if the kind of thinking exemplified by the General's article does not become general soon, the little family around old Sol may well be reduced to seven.

CHESTER G. MOORE

Annapolis, Md., July 20

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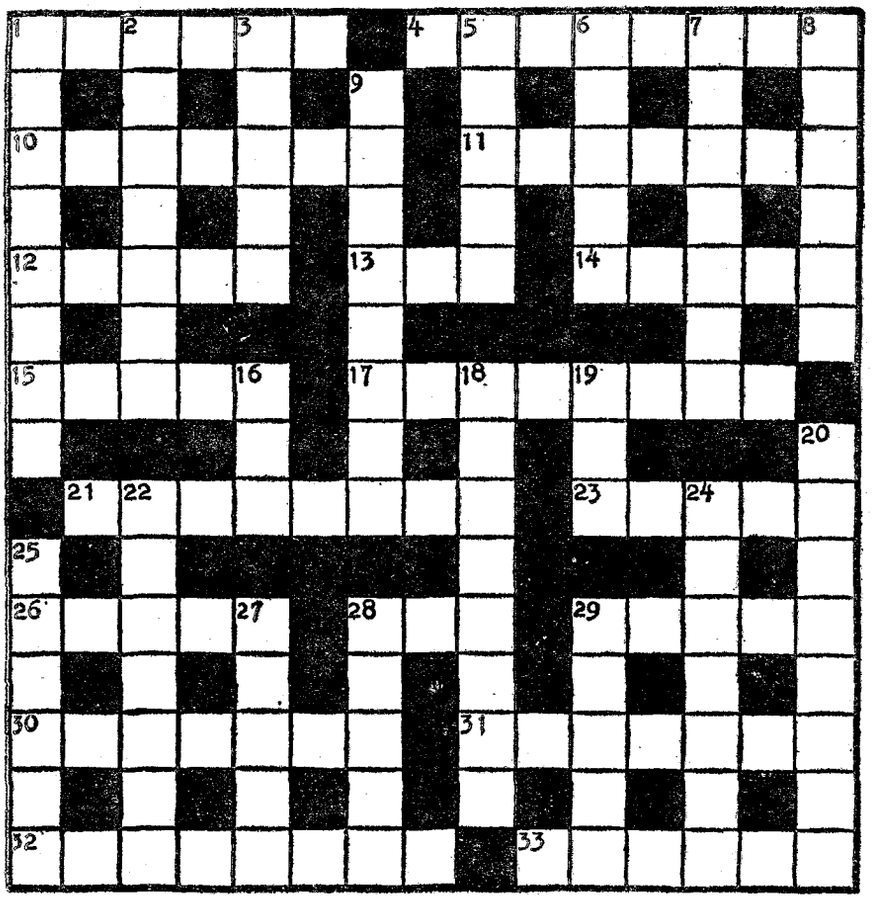
Crossword Puzzle No. 173

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 It joins one word to another. Or perhaps it separates them?
4 Farmers should not object to this bird in the harvest fields!
10 Literary result of a thunderstorm?
11 Inundated
12 Ward off
13 Likewise
14 Where the beginner makes a beginning in mountaineering, perhaps
15 Sign up
17 Best keep out of his sight
21 Spirited reproofs
23 He should make the grade
26 Reform and just escape the noose
28 Not speaking as a parent
29 What it is all about
30 Blow out
31 Fancy saying, "No! no!" to this play girl!
32 An unexceptionable fellow
33 Joy wheel

DOWN

1 Non-literary best sellers (3 and 5)
2 A go-ahead sort of chap
3 Turn inside out
5 Rashness
6 Watch for a carol singer
7 Shops in Kansas
8 A puzzling question
9 No mere male walker-on in the Shavian drama
16 Curtail
18 Carrying on
19 Make legal claim
20 They are good at beastly multiplication
22 She might stage a show at the Academy
24 "Allah is great, but juxtaposition is -------"
25 Famed for her curtain lectures
27 Musically weak
28 Advertising agencies, perhaps
29 Keyed up

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 172

ACROSS:—1 COLUMBUS; 8 COLOMBO; 9 GASLIGHT; 10 BEGONIA; 12 HORSE; 13 LOOSEN; 14 MEATY; 15 ELDEST; 17 STAIR; 22 MICAH; 23 VIENNA; 24 OSCAR; 26 TARTAN; 28 SCULL; 29 SAVELOY; 30 FALCONER; 31 PILOTED; 32 GENEROUS.

DOWN:—1 COGWHEEL; 2 LESTRADE; 3 MAINE; 4 UNHOLY; 5 NOSES; 6 CORONER; 7 EBRIETY; 10 BOOTY; 11 GEMINI; 16 SPIRAL; 18 PARTY; 19 INNUENDO; 20 MALLARDS; 21 ISLAMIC; 22 MATELOT; 25 UNMAKE; 27 ROSES; 28 SOCLE.

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